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THE MODERN CITY

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By
ADAM DIXON WARNER
OF THE LOS ANGELES BAR

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THE MODERN CITY

By
ADAM DIXON WARNER
of the Los Angeles Bar

Containing the
Author's Answer
to
Hon. David S. Rose
Mayor of Milwaukee
Delivered at
Salt Lake City, Dec. 5th, 1909

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ADAM DIXON WARNER

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The Modern City

BY
ADAM DIXON WARNER.

"AND HE BUILDED A CITY."

IT TAKES STRONG MEN TO BUILD A CITY:

It takes strong, resolute, determined men to make and keep a modern city clean. And a city will be good and clean and great, just as its men and women—its society, is good and clean and great. By society I mean each and every individual unit!—*It is you, and it is I.*

In the last analysis society is a concrete, not an abstract: Each individual unit in the social system is a part of the concrete whole—society. Society, State, and City, are almost synonymous. Society, is the collective body of citizens composing a place. A city, is a place inhabited by a large, permanent, organized community; and the Greek mind identifies the state and city so completely, that there is but one word for both.

Henry Ward Beecher says, "that three great elements enter into the career of a great citizen, viz., that which his ancestry gives, that which opportunity gives; and that which his will develops." So, if human character is the camera of human development, then civic virtue, will be just what the genius and will of the people develop.

The proper solution of the many complex problems of modern city life, is the solution of the greatest questions of the century. They are as many and as varied, as are the vices and virtues of mankind.

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FUNCTION OF CIVIC GOVERNMENT.

The city is the oldest political Unit or entity; and because of its facilities for closer fellowship and closer contact in business and social relations, it furnishes the most varied ramifications and opportunities for civil and moral debasement; and not only this, but it provides the very highest opportunities for all economic and sociological improvement, and spiritual development.

Therefore, the true function of civic government should be the very highest standard of excellence and equipment for furnishing its people and the visitor within its gates, not only law and order, but the very best law and order; the best water, light, heat, health hygiene, sanitation, education, recreation, means of communication and transportation; and most important of all, the Modern City must provide its willing toilers an opportunity to toil and earn a livelihood. If it does not, it will have idleness and all its accessories,—drunkenness and licentiousness, and decay.

The common acceptation of the word "city"—in truth and in fact, not only the modern, but the medieval and ancient understanding and acceptation of the term was, and is, a place of revelry, riotous living, lust, loot, plunder and power. And it is sad to contemplate, but it is nevertheless true, that it is so regarded in America today. But the polished American political plunderer and energetic embezzler of power, has sweetened and softened his unctuous iniquity by coining a new word to cover his crimes. The raw plunder of autocratic power and despotism, has given way to the more diplomatic counting-room corporatitis and political graftitis. What was formerly very harshly, but correctly, called, conspiracy, robbery, or loot, are now more euphoniously called by these modern appellations. What the road agent used to do alone, is now done by a number of gentlemen, as a board of directors.

CITY PLACE OF REFUGE.

The first mention of city, in either sacred or profane history, is in the Bible, Genesis 4:17: "And he builded a city." And again in Numbers 35:2, when the Lord spake unto Moses, in the plains of Moab by Jordan near Jericho, saying, "Command the children of Israel that they give unto the Levites of the inheritance of their possession, cities to dwell in; and ye shall give also unto the Levites, suburbs of the city round about them. And they shall be unto you cities

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for refuge from the avenger; that the manslayer die not, until he stand before the congregation in judgment." In Zechariah, Jerusalem is called the "City of Truth, where the old and the children play in the streets."

So it is not, as has been often erroneously stated and as often erroneously practiced, that the city was originally intended, and that its chief function was to furnish boodling politicians and all kinds of evil. But on the contrary, the city was, as we have seen, a place of refuge. A place where justice should be supreme, and should be meted out to all men alike. A place "where the old and the children could play in the streets." A place where the stranger and traveler were sure of a fair and impartial trial by honest and fearless and independent citizens, free from political pull, passion or prejudice. It was intended as the place where everyone was safe, and would be sure of a square deal. It was the place where the law-makers, the law-construers and the law-enforcers lived. It was the place where the multitude of the people heard the law expounded and justly and fairly administerd.

Every lawyer knows that the common law of today, and the statute law in all civilized lands had their origin in the law of Moses, as laid down in these chapters of the Old Testament; and has been handed to us through the Justinian Codes and Common Law of England;—making the observance of law the most sacred principle of government and citizenship.

What more ennobling or patriotic sight can you witness than to go into your courtroom and see his Honor on the bench, and over his head the perfect square with the words, government, law, justice, truth on the corners; and the scales of equal and exact justice in the center, with the inscription "Fiat Justitia,"—meaning, let justice be done. This is one of the institutions that makes us love our cities and our government and our flag, and makes us patriots.

THE GREEK CITY.

In the course of history, the significance of the term, "city" has varied. We read. " the cities of the East, in the valley of the Euphrates were mere congeries (that is collections) of subjects whom a wall and a ditch shut in." The ancient Greek city, was itself a state, with its own policy and its own religion; and while it remained a city administered all its affairs, external and internal. Its form of government varied chiefly according to the number who were admitted to full citizenship, and might be oligarchic or democratic,

but even when most democratic only a fraction of the population had the rights of citizenship. In Athens at one time, there were 400,000 slaves, 10,000 resident aliens and only 21,000 male citizens of adult age.

The cities of the Roman Republic were of the same type, but under the Empire, a city became simply an administrative unit in the Empire, and Roman citizenship ceased to be distinguished from the condition of a Latin subject.

The city in medieval times occupied a very different position. In Southern France and Northern Italy, the cities were the inheritors of the tradition of the ancient city; but in the North, they arose slowly from humble origins and had to buy their privileges, and to maintain them often by force of arms. The medieval city was based not on war, but on hard work and commerce, rather than on conquest. As was especially the case with the Hanseatic towns and the great industrial towns of Flanders and South Germany. Where the central power was weak as in Germany, or non-existent as in Italy, the cities approximated to the Greek type; but in England, they never achieved independence of the central authority and had local, rather than self-government,—as the cities grew in wealth and importance, their constitution, at first purely democratic became oligarchic—then despotic—and then came the mob.

This very thing is true of the cities of the oldest times. They were first cities of refuge, but as they grew in wealth and importance, they became the prey of wealth and power and from democratic cities of refuge, they became oligarchic and corrupt, and because of their corruption were destroyed.

VULGAR ORGIES OF VULGAR RICH.

Ur, the first city, Sodom and Gomorrah, Babylon, Nineveh, Jericho, Pompeii, Corinth, Sidon, Thebes, Carthage, Alexandria and Paphos, on the Island of Cyprus, where, Burton in his book, says; "the shrine of Aphridite was a temple of sanctified licentiousness. A form of religion which has so attached ignominy to the soil on which its temple was founded, that it has given us the almost unprintable epithet,—Cyprian"—each and all fell, and were utterly destroyed.

To realize the depths of moral degradation, when Venus was worshipped at Paphos, and when Pompeii was the art gallery of the world, one only has to read Paul's Epistle to the Romans—the epistles of Horace, or the satires of Juvenal; and to think of the unprintable

or unspeakable practices in the "thoughts" of Marcus Aurelius.

What think you, wrought the destruction of these cities and Rome and Paris, and forced the intermittent decay of citizenship and character? Search history as you may, and speculate to the furthest extent of imagination's capacity, and there will be but one answer: *The lust and greed and vulgar orgies of the vulgar rich!*

The sanctified licentiousness of Paphos and the art galleries of Pompeii, are all outstaged and outdone today in America, by the Cyprian degradation and lust engendered by "The Girl from Rectors," and its ilk, and the licensed saloon-restaurants and bagnios and madhouses of our American cities, to make business out of the morals of your sons and daughters. The modern city must drive these evil forces in government, the saloon, licentiousness and the graft machine, out of government with its best citizenship, or the history of the cities of old will be repeated.

CHARACTER IN CITIES.

As it was political and business dishonesty that bred corruption of morals, and destroyed these cities of olden time, it is the same political and business dishonesty, extravagance, dishonesty with God, and irreligious, pantheistic subterfuges of the times, that have made civic government in American cities, the blackest spots in American history.

Horace Greely said; "Fame is vapor, Popularity is an accident, Riches take wings. Those who cheer today will curse tomorrow. Only one thing endures—Character."

Character in a nation, is but character of its people. Character in a city, is the character of its citizens—and when I speak of character, I do not mean reputation. Character and reputation are widely different. Character lives in a man;—reputation outside of him. Character is what one is. Reputation is what one is thought to be. Character is the individuality which man possesses as the product of nature, habits and environments. Reputation is what one's friends or enemies may think of him. Character is both progenitor and product of industry. I never saw a man of character, who was not a man of industry; nor an industrious man, who was not a man of some considerable character. Character is both father and son of industry. Character then, must be the most potent

and paramount factor in the life of cities and nations, as it is in individuals.

Jesus of Nazareth was slandered and damned, spat upon, stoned and crucified as a criminal on the cross, yet his character lives, and will live forever. Martin Luther was branded, maligned and stowed away by his friends, to keep his enemies from doing him harm, George Washington was denounced, hated and threatened. While the immortals, Jefferson, who wrote the Declaration of Independence, and Lincoln, who wrote the Proclamation of Emancipation—two documents that go hand in hand in sublimity with the ten commandments, were charged with everything that slander's tongues could magnify and circulate, and the one was murdered.

And during the last ten years and to this very hour, nearly every man who has patriotically fought for clean government, and the dethronement of corruption in our cities and states has been vilified by slander; and has had his reputation blasted in the minds of many people;—but yet, their characters stand out in bold relief as our greatest patriots.

PRESENT-DAY PATRIOTS.

La Follette and Bryan and Roosevelt, a triune of present day patriots, that will adorn history's pages as gloriously as the names of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln, have been maligned and slandered as demagogues by a trust-bought and trust-owned press. Governor Folk, of Missouri, who started Civic Reformation in "Modern City Government," has been slandered, so one could hear anything he wanted to about him in the city of St. Louis. Heney, in San Francisco, is charged with being everything that slander can think of, or buy; and his attempted assassination, while trying to bring criminals to justice, simply shows how far unbridled power will go to thwart any interference with its lust, or greed or power. Judge Lindsay in Denver, has been the victim of its corrupting assaults.

A less strong man than Pinchot would have been driven from public life for doing his duty.

For reading the political traitors—the dive-keepers and saloon-keepers out of the State and County conventions of the Democratic party of California, I have been charged with everything in the calendar of crime their dirty tongues can circulate. Men's reputations may be blasted as easily as you would crush a rose; but their characters will endure forever.

It's music to the soul to sometimes sit and hear and

see an honest man rise and lash the machine. I sat in Simpson Auditorium one night and chuckled my sides sore to hear the biggest man in California—Governor Gage—unmercifully pour a compound of tartaric acid, vitrol, wormwood, iron, sarcasm, pity and disgust into the self-inflicted wounds of the old Jade. Governor Pardee has often paid his respects to her for his daring to refuse to take orders. And Joseph H. Call has exposed the transportation robbery as no other man in America has ever done. Thank God for this kind of men! Give me a hundred more big patriots like these, and this nation can be freed from the monopolistic industrial, transportation, financial and moral slavery of both civic and national government.

INFLUENCE OF CHARACTER.

As Lincoln and Jefferson and Washington were ahead of their time, and lifted the people on to higher planes of citizenship and government, so did Abraham, Isaac and Jacob of old, in turn, influence morality, and make it not only progressive, but aggressive. Later, the sweet simplicity and purity of the patriarchial Hebrews was overcome by the gross immorality of the Philistines, and as immorality grew, religion and character decayed.

The dramas of Aeschylus and Euripides, were written within a century, and yet, the conditions had so changed, that lust and greed took the place of virtue and fair-dealing, and patriotism had dwindled to a mockery. Horace scoffed at the gods of the days of Cincinnatus and the patriotism of the old Romans, sunk to a low plane of social vice. The indelible impress of Socrates. the father of philosophy, upon the world's education; the wisdom of Aristotle; the profundity of reasoning of Plato; and the thundering oratory of Demosthenes awakened Athenian patriotism until Corinth and Athens gloried in their overmastering genius and citizenship, that were later despoiled by the lust and greed of the Macedonians.

Again the crowning glory of all ancient or medieval Roman civilization, through the genius and generalship of the world's master, Julius Caesar, and the oratory of Cicero, reached its zenith in the reign of Augustus that gave us Horace, Virgil, Livy and Ovid, was within a half century, dripping with the barbarisms and licentiousness of Tiberius and Caligula, and the unspeakable atrocities of Nero, that palsy the human mind.

Later, Charlemagne and a handful of sincerely

religious and patriotic Frenchmen founded schools of morality all through Western Europe—erected Notre Dame, in Paris and lifted not only France, but all of Western Europe out of ignorance, vice and depravity, onto a high moral plane of progressive citizenship and character. Again, the mass of the people, through extravagance and lust for gold became lost to God and wholly irreligious, and the reign of terror followed that knew no virtue and forgot no vice. The excesses of that awful time are unmatched in history.

PROFLIGACIES OF HISTORY.

The profligacies of history, that caused the destruction of ancient and medieval civilization have been repeated during the last thirty years with more marked effect.

It is true, that the people of America, have not yet been "wrapped in flax, dipped in pitch, fastened to poles, set up about the promenades and summer-houses, and lighted for torches; while the groaning and writhing human candelabra burned to the sockets, the Emperor and his friends caroused and feasted until the blackened feet of the expiring torches dropped into darkness." But they have groaned, and have been "saddled and ridden, legitimately," by excessive taxation since the Civil War; and are now "writhing" under the oppression of THREE MEN, controlling all financial, industrial and transportation life of the country. They have seen food-stuffs disappear from their tables for the want of the price; while the Caesars, and Caligulas and Neros of today, are billionaires, through unjust tariff-robbery and special privilege.

These present-day Neros may not "prick" a name, or "butcher and burn a Carthage."

It pays better and is more respectable, to absorb a railroad and increase the bond issue a hundred million.

It pays better to work in their Wall Street butcher-shops and have their "tribunes and senators," absorb the coal and iron and oil and lead and copper and water-powers and harbors and transportation lines and grazing lands and farm-products, and *fix the price* to the consumer.

It pays better to form a Steel Trust of fourteen hundred million out of one-fourth of the value!

They have profited by the experiences of two thousand years! Will they escape the consequences?

PRESENT-DAY CAESARS.

There is nothing in history, to compare with the potential influence that has been exerted on the plastic American, through the library and college subsidization scheme of the last twenty years, by the heads of the most merciless, far-reaching and exacting trusts the world has ever known. The exaction of tribute by the Caesars and Kings of the oldest times, was trivial petty-larceny in comparison to the covert skillful tariff robbery of the wife, widow and child of the farmer and toiler, under the guise and pretense of aiding a struggling infant; when it has been, in fact, to fill the coffers of a giant and permit the triune head—Rockefeller, Carnegie and Morgan—to bribe a nation to its own despoilment by appropriating a fractional part of the stolen money to endow colleges and build libraries and art galleries, and make the people beg for more; while they approvingly submit to being robbed in order that the names of these present-day Caesars may have a passport to respectability in the halls of fame; and the people may enjoy some of the benefits of the tainted money.

When a civilization gets to this stage it is high time for every man and woman to think, and to act and vote, and vote intelligently, to save the nation.

The nation or the city that permits its citizenship to be despoiled for gold or power, despoils itself.

The history of the world is, that when man became rich and lustful, cities became corrupt and despotic. Plato tells us, "The more men think of making a fortune, the less they think of virtue; for when riches and virtue are placed together in the scales of the balance, the one always rises as the other falls."

When man became lazy, lethargic and dependent upon others, he became lustful and the cities decayed. When man became powerful through money, he became oppressive; and following despotism came the mob.

DARK AGES.

When man became corrupt, corruption ensued in the cities, and the Dark Ages followed; and it took nine hundred years for the people to shake off the inheritance of profligacy, corruption, oppression and want. It became so bad that the business of the cities was war. And strange as it may appear, it is nevertheless true, that the most flagrant cases of graft in our cities, have been those dealing with public franchises granted to private corporations; and farming out to private

corporations, the functions of government—the very means of existence, maintenance and support of the civil government, that should have been most jealously guarded for posterity.

The value of these franchises that have been stolen during the last twenty years would pay off the national debt.

The court records of our cities disclose not only the necessity of absolute control of public utilities; but disclose the necessity of some control over the ordinary business transactions of men to insure honest and square dealing.

Some men say, that you cannot make a man honest by law. That may be literally true. But you can prevent him from being *too* dishonest. You can scare dishonesty into honesty by law. Law and the courts may never make a man charitable or philanthropic or patriotic; but they will prevent him from disturbing and degrading society; they can prevent him from being cruel; and they will prevent him from practicing precepts that tend to lower, rather than elevate the moral plane of society. So, while it may be true that law will not accomplish the individual reformation; yet, it is theoretically, scientifically and experimentally true that properly enforced law regulates society.

And at last, the rights and liberties guaranteed by the constitution, are no more nor less than regulated liberty—or liberty regulated by law. Religious liberty, if you please. I do not mean religious, in the sense of dogma or creed, but ethically religious—doing right. All pages of history record men truly virtuous, when and where we find them truly religious; and the converse of the proposition is equally true.

MORALITY AND PROGRESS.

It is a truism of history, that morality and progress have died together where and when true religious worship has retrograded.

I am no preacher; I have never received the highest commission given to man—to preach Jesus Christ. But I say to you, as an experienced man of the world, who has practised law and politics in the West for thirty years and knows something of the machinations of men and vices of the times, that if you tear down your churches, you will tear down your citadels. and cities and citizenship.

And to tear down your churches you need not physically tear them down. All you have to do to

tear them down, is to empty them or destroy their influence. And every time you issue a license to a brothel or gambling hell or a saloon, you issue a license to minimize and destroy, not only the influence of the church, but the influence of the school, the library and the home and fireside. And I say to you, that of all the forces for evil the saloon is the most insidious and debasing to good government and good citizenship.

Its only hope for existence and profit is in emptying the churches and schools and in building saloons, and making drunkards and harlots and orphans and paupers and idiots and a lower, baser citizenship.

The baser and lower the standard of civil government and citizenship, the more prolific is the supply and profit of the saloon. The lower the citizenship and government, the greater the patrons and customers of the saloon. The more customers, the greater the sales and the greater the profit. The greater the profit, the more saloons, and the more saloons, the more victims. The frightful increase in the accursed liquor traffic and saloon during the last twenty years, until in 1907, we consumed 19½ gallons per capita, threatened the very fabric of our institutions. And the very dangers that destroyed the governments and cities of old were upon us, eating out our vitals in the debasement of civic virtue. Forty years ago, when I was a boy, everything was done on honor. Now nearly everything is done for "What's in it." Citizenship and character have been debased, until character is now defined as, "How much has he got."

JUSTICE AND LIBERTY.

The story of Hercules by Euripides, has been repeated a thousand times in the evolution of intellectual and moral development.

As Babylon and Corinth were loathsome cesspools of depravity in comparison to the later new Jerusalem, so the improvement in Thebes over Babylon was reflected a hundredfold in the higher citizenship of Athens. As Washington and Jefferson and Lincoln tower over Charlemagne and Napoleon and Wellington, so did Paul over Elijah, and David over Abraham.

Emerson says: "Every institution is but the lengthened shadow of a man." This truth is exemplified in the foregoing and in the axiomatic fact, that civilization of a nation or a community will be high or low, just as the individual citizenship is high or low. And

citizenship can only be measured by the yardstick of character and righteousness.

The infinite wisdom of an omniscient and immaculate God has inculcated in the heart of every patriot that the world has produced, the knowledge that the greatest happiness of a people consists in absolute justice between the governing power and the governed. This is priceless liberty, the synonym of Christian righteousness.

It was love of this priceless jewel—Liberty—that animated Cicero and Demosthenes and made the Scipio's plead for the Republic. For this Thomas Wentworth, Martin Luther and Robert Emmet, laid down their lives as patriots of peace. For this these United States have been twice bathed in blood and almost died, to arise again nobler, grander and more majestic, until they are the brightest stars in the world's civilization and Christian righteousness. The law of Moses and the sermon on the Mount have rocked the cradle of intelligence and enlightment until virtue and fair-dealing have evolved Christian righteousness out of lustful sensuality, in a thousand instances in the world's history and reformed public opinion.

THE BIBLE AND COUNTRY.

Without any apology to any human being, I base what I have to say for the protection and elevation of civic government and the human race, squarely upon the Bible. Upon that Book, that the great scientist, Huxley said: "Was the Magna Charta of the poor and oppressed. That for three centuries has been woven into the life of all that is noblest and best in our history, and has become the nationl epic of our race. * * * Nowhere is the fundamental truth that the welfare of the State, in the long run depends upon the righteousness of the citizen, so strongly laid down. The Bible is the most democratic book in the world."

I believe in the Bible, I believe in its inspiration, I believe in its ethics and morals, I believe in its democratic doctrines. And I believe it to be the most sacred and sublime philosophy ever handed to the human race. And I repeat with emphasis, the sacred words of the Father of our country, when he said: "No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand which conducts the affairs of men, more than the people of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation, seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency." What a legacy!

What an inspiration to every officer and citizen to patriotically and faithfully fulfill his full duty to the city and state and nation!

These words of the mighty Washington, are and have been true from the very hour, when some time in 1486, a poor wayfaring stranger was begging from the porter at the convent gate of St. Mary, about a mile from the little port of Palos, in Spain; and was afterwards scoffed at when he said the world was round and that he wanted to discover and explore a new world to the westward. The same "mighty hand" that conducts the affairs of men, formulated the public opinion in that case, that resulted ultimately in the United States of America. That same mighty force formulates public opinion today in the great cities, towns, hamlets and firesides of America, from which the victims of tyrannical power and despotic intolerance everywhere, shall receive continuating messages, that American homes and American soil and American institutions shall ever remain havens of security, refuge and fair treatment for the oppressed of all climes.

CIVILIZED OPINION.

I want to remind the American cities and the American people, before it is too late, that as the greatest motive force of popular strength is the world's civilized opinion; and nothing being truer than the fact, that public opinion is but the reflex of combined individual thought, it becomes mandatory that citizenship and the very highest Christian civilization must be the paramount question, in both civic and national government.

The world's civilized opinion—that mighty world force, was born on the shores of America. It budded and bloomed and has nurtured and grown as we grew. The boy who trod through the woods on the banks of the Monongahela and slept in frozen clothes on brush piles, to avoid the treacheries of the untutored savage and became the father of the United States of America, was the father of civilized public opinion. Before it, the corner stones and pillars of oppressive temples of autocracy and despotism everywhere must crumble.

The revolution of France, Turkey, Mexico and Greece and Lincoln's Emancipation of the world, the result of civilized public opinion, have set all slaves free. The proclamation has been writ. God ordained it. Jesus of Nazareth proclaimed it. Washington and Jefferson and Lincoln enforced it on these shores. And

no matter, whether in the jungles of darkest Africa, Yucatan, or at our very doors in the Yaqui country in Mexico. No matter of what particular character it partakes, whether it be bodily slavery, financial slavery, toiling slavery, or moral slavery, it cannot have—it shall not have a place to lay its dirty dragon head before the world's civilized public opinion. It is a relic of the past. It cannot exist in the same atmosphere with Liberty and Freedom. Civilized public opinion "is what restrains men from injuring one another and yet, leaves theme free to direct and regulate their own pursuits of honest endeavor and to provide an honest reward for that endeavor." This is the sum total of good government. This is but in its last analysis, the final result of all secular teachings of the lowly Nazarene, tending to fit us for the higher spiritual development.

MILITARISM BREEDS DESPOTISM.

The tendency toward militarism, is and ever has been the pathway to despotism. One of the dangers to our peace, liberties and rights, lurkingly lies in the abuse of power; and the toleration by the people of infringement of their constitutional safeguards in the pernicious and detestable practices, that have grown up in the police power. The toleration of the barbaric and despotic disregard of constitutional rights of the citizen, by the police in the "sweating system," the "third degree" and the "blackhole" illegally maintained in American cities, is as dangerous and menacing to the peace, happiness and welfare of a people as are the economic and sociological evils that every right thinking man wants to remedy.

And the deliberate violation of the rights guaranteed by every State Constitution and the National Constitution, *the right to a trial by jury* and the imprisonment of patriots of industry and peace without such trial, is the most threatening danger that has menaced this Republic, since the first shot at Fort Sumpter.

In it all the liberties of the people are restored to the "Judges;" from whom they were taken by Washington, Franklin and Jefferson and the other fathers. For these liberties, these United States came into existence. For these liberties this land was bathed in blood by our fathers. For these liberties my great great grandfather died at Ticonderoga. For these liberties, every pulpit and platform must cry aloud. For these liberties, every home and fireside must become an election booth to educate the people, that if this be the

law, then that law must be changed, or down will go this Republic into the most merciless despotism the world has ever known.

The liberties of this people are the axioms of the law of God, as proclaimed by Moses and taught by Jesus of Nazareth.

Powers in his preface to the plays of Euripides, says: "Religion is natural to the human mind; and when the early ages sunk to that miserable blindness, as to lose sight of the true God, who revealed Himself to their progenitors. they looked up to the Heavens in their blindness and struck with its majesty and the admiration of the universe, supposed the sun and moon to be the eternal and first Gods."

The voice of antiquity is uniform in this; the earliest account we have is from the Fragment of Sanchoniatho, which tells us "Aeon and Protagoras in times of drought stretched their hands to the Heavens towards the Sun; for this they esteemed as God the sole lord of the Heaven." Diodorus Siculus says the same thing of the Egyptians, and Herodotus gives us a similar account of the ancient Persians and Libyans; this Hyde calls the interpolation. And Plato says that the earliest Grecians worshiped the Sun and the Moon, and the Earth and the Stars, and the Heavens, as many barbarians do now.

LAW OF GOD IS REGULATED LIBERTY.

Tully, in the first book of his Tusculan Disputations, arguing for the existence of the soul after death, proves from the pontifical law and the inviolable ceremonies of sepulture that *death is not a privation of being*, but *a migration of life*, which leads illustrious persons to the skies, he instances in Romulus. and says, that Rome derived this opinion from the Grecians; that not only Hercules, Bacchus, Castor and Pollux, Leucothea, and their own Matuta, but that even the Dii majorum gentium would be found, by tracing the antiquities of Greece, to have been advanced from mortals to be Gods.

The evolution of liberty, education and enlightenment has removed the dross; the chaff has been blown from the wheat. The church, the school and the library have been schools of morality, and lighthouses of intelligence. The story of the Cross, the death and the resurrection, is now accepted as true, except by those who want a little cheap notoriety, and cannot get it any other way than to set up a new creed of

no matter, whether in the jungles of darkest Africa, Yucatan, or at our very doors in the Yaqui country in Mexico. No matter of what particular character it partakes, whether it be bodily slavery, financial slavery, toiling slavery, or moral slavery, it cannot have—it shall not have a place to lay its dirty dragon head before the world's civilized public opinion. It is a relic of the past. It cannot exist in the same atmosphere with Liberty and Freedom. Civilized public opinion "is what restrains men from injuring one another and yet, leaves theme free to direct and regulate their own pursuits of honest endeavor and to provide an honest reward for that endeavor." This is the sum total of good government. This is but in its last analysis, the final result of all secular teachings of the lowly Nazarene, tending to fit us for the higher spiritual development.

MILITARISM BREEDS DESPOTISM.

The tendency toward militarism, is and ever has been the pathway to despotism. One of the dangers to our peace, liberties and rights, lurkingly lies in the abuse of power; and the toleration by the people of infringement of their constitutional safeguards in the pernicious and detestable practices, that have grown up in the police power. The toleration of the barbaric and despotic disregard of constitutional rights of the citizen, by the police in the "sweating system," the "third degree" and the "blackhole" illegally maintained in American cities, is as dangerous and menacing to the peace, happiness and welfare of a people as are the economic and sociological evils that every right thinking man wants to remedy.

And the deliberate violation of the rights guaranteed by every State Constitution and the National Constitution, *the right to a trial by jury* and the imprisonment of patriots of industry and peace without such trial, is the most threatening danger that has menaced this Republic, since the first shot at Fort Sumpter.

In it all the liberties of the people are restored to the "Judges;" from whom they were taken by Washington, Franklin and Jefferson and the other fathers. For these liberties, these United States came into existence. For these liberties this land was bathed in blood by our fathers. For these liberties my great great grandfather died at Ticonderoga. For these liberties, every pulpit and platform must cry aloud. For these liberties, every home and fireside must become an election booth to educate the people, that if this be the

law, then that law must be changed, or down will go this Republic into the most merciless despotism the world has ever known.

The liberties of this people are the axioms of the law of God, as proclaimed by Moses and taught by Jesus of Nazareth.

Powers in his preface to the plays of Euripides, says: "Religion is natural to the human mind; and when the early ages sunk to that miserable blindness, as to lose sight of the true God, who revealed Himself to their progenitors. they looked up to the Heavens in their blindness and struck with its majesty and the admiration of the universe, supposed the sun and moon to be the eternal and first Gods."

The voice of antiquity is uniform in this; the earliest account we have is from the Fragment of Sanchoniatho, which tells us "Aeon and Protagoras in times of drought stretched their hands to the Heavens towards the Sun; for this they esteemed as God the sole lord of the Heaven." Diodorus Siculus says the same thing of the Egyptians, and Herodotus gives us a similar account of the ancient Persians and Libyans; this Hyde calls the interpolation. And Plato says that the earliest Grecians worshiped the Sun and the Moon, and the Earth and the Stars, and the Heavens, as many barbarians do now.

LAW OF GOD IS REGULATED LIBERTY.

Tully, in the first book of his Tusculan Disputations, arguing for the existence of the soul after death, proves from the pontifical law and the inviolable ceremonies of sepulture that *death is not a privation of being*, but *a migration of life*, which leads illustrious persons to the skies, he instances in Romulus. and says, that Rome derived this opinion from the Grecians; that not only Hercules, Bacchus, Castor and Pollux, Leucothea, and their own Matuta, but that even the Dii majorum gentium would be found, by tracing the antiquities of Greece, to have been advanced from mortals to be Gods.

The evolution of liberty, education and enlightenment has removed the dross; the chaff has been blown from the wheat. The church, the school and the library have been schools of morality, and lighthouses of intelligence. The story of the Cross, the death and the resurrection, is now accepted as true, except by those who want a little cheap notoriety, and cannot get it any other way than to set up a new creed of

indifference and carelessness of the farmer, the orchard has been Gophered.

The gopher is a little sleek, underground worker, who burrows his runways through devious and dark alleys, and often the only evidence of his underground operations is a little pile of dirt, a long way from the point of his operation. He lives, thrives and fattens off the succulent juices of the roots of trees, and sometimes it is a long while before the baneful effect of his well-concealed work is noticed on the splendid foliage and fruit of the orchard. And if that sleek-coated tricky underground worker is not soon caught, the tap-root of the tree will be cut off as clean as you could cut it with a knife, and the tree will be destroyed

There is not a city in America where the public conscience has not been "gophered" by the sleek-coated, smooth, tricky, wily underground political burrower of civic government. You may not know who he is in this community. If you do not, I will tell you where you are most likely to find him. We found him in Los Angeles in the Mayor's office. We found him in the office of Chief of Police. We found him on the Police Commission, and we found a lot of little sleek-coated burrowers of civic government in the City Council, on the Board of Supervisors, and in the garret of the Courthouse; and we found them representing the utility corporations; the gas, light and heat and power companies, and the street railway companies, each keep one employed; and they all formed a perfect machine to manipulate the primaries and conventions; they named the legislative and law-enforcing and law-construing officers, to prevent the interests they represented from being injured or robbed by the public.

THE PUBLIC CONSCIENCE.

The public conscience, like a bad little boy, has been looking for some means of amusement and profit, without being caught, and if caught, for a means of justification. It has found both. It has amused itself by licensing what it did not dare to tolerate, and profited by wanton violations of every right of God and man in franchise and special privilege enactment, to create and satisfy public opinion. The public conscience has been defiled until tolerance of evil has justified license. License paid for and satisfied public opinion.

I say without fear of successful contradiction that it has been the successful civic corruption that has engendered legislative and private corruption. It is the lust for gold and commercialism just as of old, that

has filled the jails and penitentiaries for the last twenty years. It has been the successful business dishonesty in high places that has beguiled the trusted employee into the arena of speculative chances with his honor and his life, for money to make good that which they stole and could not replace, like their more adroit and successful undetected compatriots in crime and marked the wrecks in prison sentences and suicides and murders. It is lust for gold and special privilege in civic government, farming out the public necessities of the people to the special interests in our cities, that enables the speculating bond-shylock and the banker to make 24 per cent, while the laborer and farmer are forced to toil to make only 3 per cent, that has debased the public conscience.

IMMENSITY OF CITY.

And when you think and are forced to realize, that it takes the entire population of New England or all the states west of the Missouri River to make one New York City; and that of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Wyoming, Montana, Colorado, Utah, Nevada and Arizona, to make one Chicago; or Utah, Nevada, Arizona and Wyoming to make one San Francisco, you begin to have some faint conception of the virtues to be nurtured and the vices to be controlled in a great city.

To govern a modern city is a very different thing from governing the cities of old. They were mere congeries, or provinces, with a frugal and industrious population, scattered over great areas, with diversified occupations, and fixed places of abode, while our great cities of today are the dumping ground of the Slav, the Hindu, Italian and Yiddish pauper labor, brought into the country by the steamship lines owned and dominated by the "Interests" in contrast to the splendid type of Scandinavian, Irish or German, who a few years ago came to acquire homes on the soil.

The city of today dominates the country. For the first time in the history of the country, the next census will show a majority population in the cities. In them are the newspapers, the colleges, schools of art and sciences, the great teachers and preachers, and theaters of action and inaction. The places of amusement and instruction, and the places of degradation and destruction. And they are all dominated by one great force, that steals through special privilege, and returns through college, university and civic control. Disguise it as we may, such is the character of our cities of today.

NO CITY WITHOUT GRAFT

I make the bold statement that there is not a city in the United States that is free from graft in its civic government.

The promotion and over-capitalization of public service corporations is *Graft.*

The operation of public utilities that belong to all the people, by private interests, is *Graft*, pure and simple.

Not until the city is granted sovereign power to protect itself in every way and emergency, by the Initiative, Referendum, and Recall, and Direct Primary, or some other means more forceful, will American cities be able to get out from under the thraldom of legislative action conceived and executed by the powerful influences that control the legislative councils.

The great fortunes that have been amassed through valuable franchises,—the two decades of political corruption, the abasement of civic virtue, and now the colossal control by combination of railway transportation with urban and interurban city railway transportation facilities, in all our great cities, and the refusal to extend street railway facilities because of the limited life of franchises, proves conclusively that the city must have sovereign power to prevent and destroy such combinations and force such extensions as the governing power—the people—may deem necessary for the public good; and to do every other necessary thing, without being compelled to go to a legislature owned and controlled by these forces, and await its action, often too late to prevent the acquisition of "vested wrongs."

Every city should have the right to say to every street railway company and every other public utility corporation that refuses to extend its lines or service, "Here is the right of way and franchise; you extend that utility and operate it to meet the demands of the public, or we will forfeit your franchise."

The citizens of a city should not be "held up" by quasi-public corporations, no more than they should be held up by the road-agent.

THE "HOLD-UP" AND TRUST EVIL IN CIVIC GOVERNMENT.

All men agree that Citizenship and the Home are the very heart and lungs and backbone of a republican form of government; and that the security and strength of a Democracy lie in the unsullied home. Therefore, any institution that strikes at the home strikes a blow at government.

And right here will you permit me to digress, to ask a question and answer it. What is the greatest force in the purity and elevation of the home? A perfect wife-hood and motherhood.

If so much depends on the wife and mother, do you not think that the woman who is good enough to be the mother of your children and the preserver of the sanctity of your home, is good enough to vote? Do you not think that the woman who is good enough and big enough to preside over the destiny of your child during its tender years, and shape and mould its tendencies; and is brave and courageous enough to assist and co-operate with you in the battles of life, is big enough to vote?

The denial of the saving grace of Jesus Christ; the divorce evil; ignorance of domestic and marital duties; the gambling evil, whisky, and the Trust, are each contesting for supremacy in destruction of the American home. And while I think that whisky is the most debasing and far-reaching in its baneful influence on mankind, the Trust is fast gaining first place in ascendency. It has made the cost of living so high in our cities that it is actually a dangerous undertaking for a wage-earner to seriously think of providing for a wife and children. It has become so serious that in many cities divorces and deaths outnumber marriages and births. Some have charged to race-suicide what should be properly charged to the Trust.

TRUSTS IN CIVIC GOVERNMENT.

The great trouble with the American people is that they only think of the Trust as a National Calamity, when in truth and in fact the hundred and one Trusts in Civic Government are more effective in increasing the burdens of Modern City Life.

The Political Trust, that demands party loyalty and fealty, deprives you of the best in government—You see that exemplified in the fact that a great newspaper will stoop so low in corrupting a city in its brazen disregard of the welfare of the citizens as to support and advise the people to support the most abject machine tools for Civic Government, in preference to patriots and statesmen.

The only reasonable and logical conclusion from such wanton disregard of civic decency is that some one has been well greased to make such a slide. Such practices enable the machine to fatten off corruption, and permit vice to run, as it was lately run in Los Angeles, either under blood-money-police-protection, or without molestation, or in partnership with those who control it.

Every economist and every President that has occupied the White House has denounced this evil. Roosevelt says: "The worst evils that affect our local governments arise from and are the inevitable result of mixing up of the city affairs with the party politics of the nation and the state. The lines upon which national parties divide have no necessary connection with the business of the city; such connections open the way to countless schemes of plunder and civic corruption."

PUBLIC UTILITIES IN POLITICS.

The Banking Trust, controlled from the head office in New York, under the name of the conciliating Clearing House, gambles in stocks and bonds, and when they get stung they close their doors, refuse to give you your own money, and if you go to make a fuss about it, they get their Governor to declare holidays, and issue scrip in violation of the law, that if one of you so violated, you would spend the rest of your natural life in the penitentiary.

If you have only one Gas Company robbing you, and you talk of a Municipal Gas Co., the bankers incorporate another "Citizens Gas Co.," get a valuable franchise, occupy the other half of the street, issue ten million dollars worth of stock and five million of bonds, and then consolidate, or enter into a community of interest contract, and you get less and worse gas, and more hot air than before, for more money.

If one Telephone Company makes you swear so that you are cited to appear before the board of deacons, the old company will get the bankers to organize a Home Company, and then you swear *twice*, and pay *twice*, when you only swore and paid once.

If the ice man gives you thirty pounds for fifty, the Bankers organize another Ice Company, and they consolidate, or one of them "works" Pico Heights and Westlake, while the other poaches in Boyle Heights and Garvanza.

If the Street Railway Company is in danger of being municipalized, it is turned over to the Southern Pacific Company, that names the Aldermen, Supervisors, District Attorney, Legislators, Judges, Senators and Justices of the Peace and Constables.

And if only one Power and Light Company is in existence, a half dozen more are organized by the same bunch of Bankers, and the President of the bank that loans the money on the stocks or bonds goes on the Bench, and the President of the clearing house resigns and becomes a member of the City Council, to

protect the finance committee from becoming too industrious about the amount of stocks and bonds that are in existence.

La Follette says: "Depew holds 107 directorates, but didn't have enough money to buy stock enough to entitle him to one."

That's Nothing. The City Council or Board of Public Works let a contract to feed all the men on the aqueduct at 25 cents a meal, and the contractor didn't have enough money to buy the skillets and pans to furnish the kitchens in one camp. But the Wholesalers Board of Trade—backed by the bankers, had plenty of money (just as the banks and Rockefeller had in the case of Depew) and they are making $250,000 a year out of furnishing meals to hungry men, that cost 13 3-8 cents, for *Twenty-five Cents.* And the wholesalers Board of Trade seeing what a good thing one little contract is, organize and co-operate with the Liberal Alliance-Royal-Arch-Saloon-Graft-Bagnio-Bunch, below the dead line, and shame Heaven and outdo Hell in a carnival of indecency at Turner Hall, to elect their old "faithful" bookkeeper to the office of Mayor, so they can get a few more soft snaps.

THE ROYAL ARCH.

I knew a Mayor of a city not a thousand miles from Los Angeles, who pledged his sacred honor in my office that he was not controlled by the Machine, and was not the candidate of the Royal Arch, and for whom I nearly holloed my head off in automobiles on street corners until midnight, for a week, to elect him to office, upon his representations that he would give the city a good, clean business administration. And within three weeks he turned the entire administration, city and all, over to the Machine and the saloon element of the city, and dragged citizenship down to the lowest level possible; had his picture taken, and was later recalled for betrayal of his trust. Within three months after his election he and his banker friends bought stock in a packing company, and all the butchers and restaurants bought their meats. Seeing that was a good thing, they incorporated oil companies, and the cabinet officers sold their stock to the underworld.

In that same city the Mayor and his Chief of Police, and the Head of his Police Commission, recreated and re-established, in open violation and defiance of law, a corral, or police-protected garden of licentiousness, where frail virtue was bartered for gold, to

buy their oil stocks and insurance policies. A place that had been once destroyed and wiped out of existence at midnight by the righteous indignation of the perfect womanhood of that city.

These Royal Arch-Saloon-Machine-Controlled destroyers of Government and Civic Virtue, and dealers in "white slavery," were actually proven to have received a division of the spoils from this frightful, unspeakable traffic.

I know a city where the water commissioners organized a water company just outside of the city and floated stock and bonds, and with their banker friends organized an underwriting company to guarantee the bonds; and then a contract was entered into between the officers of the water company and the water commissioners to exchange two million gallons of water daily. But the water company only had capacity to lift 450,000 gallons of water; but a little matter like that made no difference. For three years this inequitable, unholy exchange went on, until I brought a lawsuit and it was stopped by the courts. Now the territory supplied and controlled by this particular water company is to be admitted to citizenship upon the condition that it is compelled to take its water *from the same water company for three or four years more.*

Just watch them unload it onto the city!

WHY SHOULD CITY PAY?

The Auditor's report for the current year, shows that street sprinkling in Los Angeles cost $126,468. Easily two-thirds of this is done on streets where there are street car lines.

In other cities, notably Seattle, the street railways operate a street sprinkling car on their tracks at their own expense.

If this were done in Los Angeles it would save the city and taxpayers, on the same basis as last year, $84,312.00. Just a little item for the Good Government Council to save!

AN INSTANCE IN POINT.

I know of a city where the Southern Pacific City Council, had such zealous regard for its superiors that just before it went out of business it passed an ordinance establishing and naming the personnel of a commission to handle all the public utilities (except the railway companies street railways), which included all the prospective power, light and heat for

domestic and industrial use in said city. The people's Mayor—a Recall Mayor, by the way—vetoed it to protect the rights of the people; but the "faithful" Machine Council passed it over his veto. Thank God, their unholy purpose was later nullified by the Initiative and Referendum!

GOPHERS IN LOS ANGELES.

The City and County's annual rental bill is $75,000; or six per cent on $1,250,000. While a building could be built on the vacant lot adjoining the City Hall, for $100,000 that would house every office now farmed out to the Landlords.

We found the Water Department, the Aqueduct Commission, the Justices of the Peace, the Law and Public Library, the City and District Attorney's office, the Coroner and the Board of Education, the Superintendent of Schools, the County Surveyor and Assessor, and various other departments of government *on wheels*, to furnish tenants to faithful Machine landlords.

We found 120 saloon licenses out of the 200 controlled by the breweries, and three "dummies" holding thirty licenses.

We found gophers in the District Attorney's office and in the Grand Jury room when the investigations began.

Everywhere we found *him* he was the same "Rosenbaum, the Soldier."

We found him turning the Democratic Club headquarters into a gambling hell, and operating a saloon and madhouse on the floors above.

We found him collecting blood-money from vice and distributing it in a wholesale whisky house, from where it found its way to the banquet-board and the pockets of higher-ups.

We found him running cigar stores, with the poker room and roulette-wheels in the rear.

We found him sending duplicate padded accounts to be O. K.'d with the rubber stamp.

We found him as street, sewer, concrete and asphalt pavement contractors and inspectors.

We found him as deputy license tax collector, allowing his friends to escape the payment of licenses.

We found him in the Police and Sheriff's office, renting property for immoral purposes.

We caught him in the act of giving away the riverbed franchise, the land alone being worth *Five Million Dollars.*

We caught him making $15,000 profit out of one lot sold to the City for a Fire Station. We found him in the garret and in the basement, and opposite the entrance of the Courthouse. We found him shaving juror and city employee's salary warrants. We found him everywhere there was a chance to graft. We trapped them in the RECALL TRAP.

These Gophers breed everywhere, in every city. There are big Gophers and little Gophers. In New York they are bigger than they are farther West. It is probably because it is nearer the getting-off place, and there are more of them, and more chance for them to trade; but they are all the same breed and brand. You can spot them the minute you get your eye on them.

In New York they syndicate the insurance companies, the money, the banks, and railroads; the steel and coal and copper; the express and telegraph and telephone and street railway corporations; and the public utility and water powers all over America. And they pay particular attention to the Congress and the Senate of the United States.

While out West they only syndicate the primaries and conventions, and offices and office holders; particularly the chairmanships of the Republican and Democratic State, County and City Central Committees; paying particular attention to the Assessor, Prosecuting Attorneys and Judges, so they won't be injured by the "longhairs," as they call the people who want decent City Government, observance of law, and Christian righteousness.

You will find them here, in this city, now, burrowing the public conscience in vaudeville levity and cheap theatrical licentiousness. They now run the theaters and picture shows, and educate your young men and young women with reproductions of the clever deceptions of the unfaithful husband and wife; the generalship and cunning of the burglar cracking the safe, and his adroit and successful deception of the police; and lastly, they reproduce the prize-fight that is prohibited by statute, for the instruction and edification of present-day American citizenship.

Disguise it as you may, tolerate it as you are doing, and then wonder why frail virtue and moral depravity exist; but such is the work of the present day Gophers of Society and City Government in most of our American cities.

These, are but a few of the things that the best citizenship, the manhood and womanhood of the

Modern City, is, and always will be, compelled to meet, oppose and keep in subjection and control.

CONSERVATION.

LOCKING THE STABLE AFTER THIRTY YEARS OF PLUNDER.

The stealing of Five Million acres of timber land under an Act of Congress establishing Forest Reserves; and the stealing of Fifteen Billion tons of coal, and Fifty Billion tons of copper, and more oil land in Alaska than there is in California, under an Act of Congress, passed while the Governors were in session as a Conservation Congress,—and all this done under the last two administrations, so Senator Guggenheim and Senator Aldrich and Senator Rockefeller and Senator Carnegie and Senator Stillman and Senator Keuhn, Loeb & Co., and Senator Morgan may get back their election donations, regulate the volume of money, and make *panics* to order, and run the banks and business and government of the Nation, do not strike so directly at the morality of the home and fireside of the Modern City as the ones I have heretofore described to you.

Senator La Follette of Wisconsin, the Daniel Webster of the United States Senate of today, said, in a recent speech at my home city, Los Angeles, "that 97 men governed the various boards of directors constituting and controlling every important line of business and industry in the United States. There are two all-powerful groups of banks, one, the Standard Oil, the other the Morgan, and these groups are not hostile by any means. They control the richest, most powerful banks and trust companies, not only of New York, but of every financial center and large city in the United States.

"Sixty-two men constitute the boards of directors of these two groups of banks. The banking credits of the country are concentrated in the hands of these few men, who are not bankers, *but are in the banking business for speculation.*"

THE WORLD'S CURSE.

The accursed fictitious watering of stocks and wanton inequitable issuance of bonds,—or cutting of melons, or more properly the cutting of *felonies*, disclose that the economic principle of resistence to the absorption of wealth, is the paramount economic issue that confronts the common people of every city of the world. And

until this iniquity is successfully run to cover, by obliteration of party blindness and party fealty and displaced by municipal ownership and governmental control of the public necessities of the people; and kept out of civic government by the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, the people will continue to be the fishing ground for the money power.

Los Angeles has suffered from it. And is getting out from under,—and today

LOS ANGELES IS THE MODEL MODERN CITY OF AMERICA.

It is *first* in government, in America; and is the only city in America with sovereign power. It is the first city in America to adopt the complete system of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall;—and the Direct Primary.

These, each represent, and are, Sovereign Power.

The Initiative means to initiate law; to start a law by petition; voting for laws upon petition.

Referendum means to refer the subject matter to the people; that is, preventing the passage of harmful laws by petition.

The Recall means just what the word implies,—recalling officers who betray the people; recalling an officer or discharging him, just as an employer would discharge an unfaithful servant. It is, in short, the exercise of Sovereign Power.

The Direct Primary is voting for persons for office, and not voting for tickets, as Republican or Democratic, but voting for men,—sane Representative Government.

The adoption by Los Angeles of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, and the Direct Primary, and their most successful practical operation in lifting the city out of the filth of civic debasement onto the very highest plane of moral civic government, and making it the pride of the city's best citizenship, and the emulation of every city in America, has blazed a pathway through the jungled forest of the vilest machinations of man, for every city in America to follow.

It is a torch, a beacon light, a new Goddess of Liberty, enlightening the world of Modern Civic Civilization, that will shine on, and on, and illumine and electrify every patriotic citizen of America to defend with his ballot and his life, the sacred liberties of the country for which the fathers bled and died, and restore Government to the people.

Thank God! The days of the Machine Gang—Morris, Goings, Cohen, Summerfield, Savage and

Vacher, the Dog Catcher—running political conventions for the Southern Pacific to name Councilmen, Assessors and Mayors, are at an end. And when we extend it to the County and State affairs, as we will, and as it should be, the State and County Machine, the Monroe-Fredericks-Summerfield and Big-Three Supervisors Oligarchy at the County Courthouse will be a thing of the past. "Hail, fall of fury! Reign of Reason, All Hail!".

Let the slogan be: "On to New High street and the BAS-STEAL!"

APPOINTMENTS PUBLICLY POSTED.

And there must be no temporizing with this system against the Machine!

The mere transfer of authority and power from one wing or clique, or faction of the old Machine crowd to another, will not satisfy an aroused and indignant public conscience, nor accomplish the desired result of Good Government in fact. Simply, to put one bank crowd out of power, and exchange the executive and administrative offices to the friends of another depositary of the Machine may blind the people a little while; but it will not restore government to the people, nor protect their sacred rights in transportation, harbor or utility from possible invasion.

An honest executive, if he be not alert to the wiles of men, and insidious cunning of corporate "gophers," may be imposed upon to select receptive candidates, for mere honorary positions, that carry with them great power and authority, that meet with hearty approval and immediate confirmation from the Machine.

As a safeguard against impositions, all appointments should be *publicly posted* (as they are in all well regulated organizations) and the public given an opportunity, before confirmation, to pass judgment upon the proposed; as well as upon the environments, interests and influences surrounding him. For, as Jefferson truly says: "All know the influence of interest on the mind of man, and how unconsciously his judgment is warped by that influence."

To crush the Machine, is not the most difficult problem in civic government. The most difficult problems of revolutions are, not only the restoration, but the preservation of rights and liberties. Hence, to preserve, inviolably to the people the blessings of the Initiative Referendum and Recall and the Direct Primary, every citizen must be a patriot, and every patriot must be on guard.

What the Initiative, Referendum and Recall and Direct Primary did with only one application against the "Gophers," it will do again on the "fat fryers" at the Court House.

As M. de Chateaubriand said, "The discovery of the system of the representative republic, is one of the greatest political events that ever occurred," and Edward Everett says, "It is not one of the greatest, but it is the greatest." I say, the discovery and enactment into law of the system of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, and Direct Primary, to bring representative government back to the people, is the greatest political event in civicism that has occurred in a century and a quarter of the world's history.

Maurice Francis Egan says: "There are some living lovers of the Latin tongue, who hold that the Roman Empire existed only that the language of Cicero might be born."

If Los Angeles does no more for the world than to revive the Initiative, Referendum and Recall and bring government back to the people, the City of the Angels will have fulfilled her mission.

THE STATE'S SHAME.

Do you suppose for a moment that the bribe-takers and the bribe-givers in San Francisco, would have laughed at justice and gone scot-free if that city had had the sovereign power to try and convict and sentence and keep the sentence in operation? Think you for a moment, those crimes would have been committed if that city had had sovereign power? Think you that the political treacheries to our state and our great cities would have occurred if the cities in which they were perpetrated had had sovereign power? Do you think the brazen effrontery of the Santa Cruz convention and the photograph of the Governor of the State of California with his hand resting on the shoulder of the central figure—the corruptionist, Reuf—surrounded by the attorneys and political brokers and agents of the Southern Pacific Railway, would have taken place, or been taken at all, if the Recall had been in existence in the State, to punish such brazen law-defiance?

HARBORS BLOCKADED.

Do you think that your harbors would now be blockaded commercially, and your coast line from San Diego to British Columbia would have been seized by the railroads, so that you cannot land a ship without

paying them tribute, if the cities had sovereign power? Do you think your streets and highways and lighting and heating and power franchises would have been stolen or frittered away if your city had sovereign power to have them canceled and returned to the people for fraud; and had sovereign power to punish the parties to their giving and taking?

What is true in California, is true in Oregon and nearly every state and city in the Union.

Ridpath says: "There is not a city in the United States today in which the citizens best fitted to discharge the duties of office are not thrust in the background and civic government is deprived of an enlightened public service by the corrupt office-seekers and office-getters, whose only qualification are their effectiveness and skill in the management of the party engine and their blind and selfish support of those from whose hands the appointive offices are to fall." A cursory examination of those holding offices in San Francisco and Los Angeles Counties, discloses that Mr. Ridpath knew exactly what he was talking about.

The reason for this is plain. The good people, the high-minded citizenship of the municipalities sat idly by and allowed the Machine—the fellows below the dead line—the whisky element, if you please—the Royal Arch and the Southern Pacific Railroad Company, to manipulate and control government.

And just as the waters of the mountain stream, or the purest drops from heaven will become stagnant and pollute everything they touch, so will unbridled lust and riches pollute the stream of life and morals and destroy character.

THE MODERN CITY'S CIVIC NECESSITIES.

With modern advancement and achievement and the demands for the newest and best in business methods, transportation, communication, education, health and pleasure, new duties have arisen and grown out of the new necessities.

In addition to the most modern means of transportation, the Modern City where congestion becomes great, demands the most modern paved streets, street-railways, harbors, docks and quays, railroad terminals, canals, telephones, water systems, gas and electric light, heat and power systems, conduit systems, markets, slaughter houses, public baths, playgrounds, parks, conservatories of art, free dispensaries, museums, schools and colleges of civic and domestic science, theaters, municipal bands, cemeteries and crematories; a civic commission to arbi-

trate and assess damages in cases of accident in all public utilities; also a system of registration, so that the city may know every stranger within its gates.

Its public and private business demands an Industrial Commission and Arbitration Board, to fix wage scales and prevent lockouts and strikes and the arbitrary destruction of the earning power of its people. As the business man, the merchant and banker demand the right to transact their business at a reasonable profit without undue interference, so has the wage-earner the right to demand the right and opportunity to labor at a wage that will give him a reasonable profit for his labor, without being locked out by arbitrary demands or interference by the employer.

If the willing toiler cannot find employment, he must of necessity become an idler and idleness breeds drunkenness and vice, want and civic debasement.

The city that furnishes employment for its willing toilers, will have fewer charities to maintain and fewer prisoners to convict and support; fewer prosecutors and courts to provide for, and fewer judges to pay.

TUBERCULOSIS AND NARCOTIC HOSPITALS.

A properly maintained tuberculosis hospital in the country and a well-conducted inebriate and narcotic institute, farm or asylum ought to be self-supporting; and would be abreast of the times, curing the unfortunate and afflicted, instead of robbing and punishing them with a system that must of necessity repeat itself with increased brutality.

Efficient self-civic government must necessarily include each and all of these, otherwise it is not self-government; but private exploitation, if these civic necessities and duties are farmed out to private individuals or private corporations. It is but civic government in name, and special interest in fact. It is special privilege to the special interests that gain control of these inherent civic duties and responsibilities, to the cost and damage of the people.

It is no more, nor less, than embezzlement of power for commercialism. And commercialism breeds pauperism.

A city is not made by men, nor by special interests. A city is an evolution, evolved from the increment following and as a matter of course flowing from the necessities and close communion and business relations of a congregation of individual units of society. The history of the world has proven to most men, that a demo-

cratic form of government, as enjoyed by this and other Republics, is the best that has been evolved or devised. And to permit special privilege in things that belong to all the people alike, is a denial of the basic principle of democratic government and breeds classification and caste and pauperism and in the last analysis, anarchy.

It is this special privilege and classification and caste in our cities, that have produced the civic corruption; and the great unequal extraordinary fortunes and the present unrest,—the true progenitors of socialism and anarchy.

EVILS OF SPECIAL PRIVILEGE.

To think that because of special privilege in two necessary commodities, iron and oil, two men within my memory, nay within my active political life,—thirty years, have built up fortunes more colossal than all the Kings of all the world ever dreamed; and are now engaged in disseminating their doctrines of special privilege in government, in our libraries and colleges; and yet be forced to realize, as Professor Fairlie says, "that our common schools are teaching nothing about civil government," is the most convincing proof that the inequality of privilege is the mightiest menacing danger confronting this Republic.

The greatest danger does not lie in the acquisition and absorption of this enormous wealth, but it is in the frightful, crippling calamity that must of necessity be inherited by posterity. What is true of iron and oil, is true of transportation, not only on your railroads but through your streets.

Your coast line has been seized from within to prevent competition from without. Fifteen years ago, when in the Legislature of the State of Washington, I pointed out to the people, that the Northern Pacific and the Hill lines had gained control of every foot of coast line on Puget Sound. What was done then in the State of Washington, has been done in the States of Oregon and California by the Southern Pacific, until every city on the Pacific Coast is practically at the mercy of the transportation monopolies to the extent of a hundred million excessive freight charges annually.

What has been done in this regard has been systematically done in every city on the coast in securing franchises over your streets; gas, light, heat and power franchises everywhere. And strange as it may appear, those who are now talking loudest for conservation, or holloing "stop thief," have been the "practical" men, who have enjoyed the emoluments and benefits of pub-

lic office, through the agencies that have stolen these valuable assets.

The men who have obtained these great concessions, franchises and special advantages are not venal at heart. The man who gives away, one or ten, or a hundred million is not venal. He has simply taken advantage of a well recognized policy of government—special privilege;—the tariff, voted for and supported by a debased public conscience for thirty years; and in returning a part of that which he knows does not rightfully belong to him, to educate the people further along the lines of special privilege, he is not so much a public benefactor, as he is a sharp, shrewd, cunning, crafty business man who "permit no one to make a profit out of my business if I can help it." He is in the business of regarding the public resources and public necessities as his preserves and proper exploitation ground.

With the sharp, keen, crafty business methods of the Shylock bond-broker and stock-manipulator on one side, and the loose, pliant, inexperienced and willing-to-be seduced public official on the other, and with a polluted public conscience behind them, is it any wonder that all the rivulets of commerce are flowing into the treasuries of the interests?

I say to you, that you might as well try to dam up Niagara without stopping the supply of water, as to try to stop graft without changing the conditions. As long as you continue to work and vote to tax yourselves to let the other fellow make a profit without working, graft will exist.

If the city is rotten, then a majority of its citizens are rotten, or your government is a living lie.

When Rockefeller stated, "that he never allowed anyone to make a profit out of his business if he could help it," he simply announced a mighty good principle of business for the public business. Operate and conduct cities on these lines and you will not be farming out all your public utilities.

EUROPEAN EXPERIENCE.

Birmingham thirty years ago took control of its gas works and has operated them successfully ever since. Increasing the efficiency and decreasing the cost. Birmingham would no more go back to the private ownership of gas, than you would go back to the private ownership of your water system.

What is true in Birmingham, is true in Glasgow, Liverpool, Vienna, Berlin, Budapest, Munich, Naples,

Venice, Leipsic and every continental city, not only with their gas, but they all own or operate their street railways, water, electric plants, slaughter houses, markets, hospitals, bands, museums, homes for the aged. In truth and in fact, they perform all their functions of government.

What private corporation would think of farming out its best means of revenue, or its best necessities to some stockholder of the corporation to make a profit for his private benefit at the expense of the corporation? Should it do so, the law of every state in the Union would nullify such a reckless and wanton invasion of the rights of all the stockholders.

When a city farms out its transportation facilities to some street railway company, to equip its streets with means of transportation for its people, the corporation proceeds to issue bonds and well-watered bonds, too, which are no more nor less than a mortgage on the franchise by the city itself. It does the very thing that would be stopped, instanter, by the courts if done against the stockholders of a private corporation.

What is true of its street railways, is true of its gas, light, heat, electricity, telephones for communication; its markets, its playgrounds, its baths, its paved streets and places of amusement. A place for the citizens to deposit their money for safe keeping, is just as necessary today for the people of a city, as are water and education. And under such a system, the city would have its own money in one depositary, instead of having it loaned out to special interests at 2 per cent, for them to earn 20 and 24 per cent as the banks in Los Angeles are doing with more than *two million* of city money.

What city farms out its means of education, or fire or police protection to private individuals or private corporations? You say none. Why? Only because no profit can be made out of them. All American cities farm out everything else. Thirty years ago every city in the country farmed out its water supply. None of them do it now. Why? Because the people learned that it was a wanton disregard of the true function of the city, to allow private water companies to make enormous profits out of the necessities of the people.

And today there is hardly a city in the country that does not own its water system.

There is not a city charter in the United States that does not empower cities to own parks and cemeteries. And yet, if Jesus Christ were to return and die in any city in America, he would have to be buried in the potter's field for the want of a public cemetery;—

American cities have farmed out even these for private exploitation.

There is not today in any city on the Pacific Coast a municipally owned cemetery, or bath, or band, or theater, or museum, or conservatory of art, or college of civil or moral government, not a slaughter house, market, gas plant or electric plant, except one market and one electric plant in Seattle. Each and all are farmed out to individuals, or private corporations for private exploitation.

LOAN SHARKS.

No one denies that the city has the right and sovereign power to say to the Loan Sharks—the five and ten per cent a month Shylocks and the pawnbrokers, that you shall not exact an unreasonable rate from the people and therefore we shall fix the interest rate by ordinance. If the city has the power to do this, why should it not have the sovereign power to say to the *other gentlemen* engaged in the loaning business, that inasmuch as the average earning capacity of the banks of the country is eight per cent interest, or profit, and the average capacity of the farmer and toiler is only an increase of three and one-half per cent; and inasmuch as you gentlemen who do *not* work, are enabled through the inequality of law and conditions, to receive two and one-half times what the man who does toil is able to earn, we shall fix your loan rate at a rate that will let you earn your pound of flesh,—your eight per cent; but when you unlawfully manipulate conditions in such a manner that you make a "money-stringency felt," and then earn, after paying your officers enormous salaries, according to your statement of July, 1909, from twelve to TWENTY-FOUR per cent.

It is time to call a halt before you absorb all the wealth.

These earnings are so near three-ball bucket shop exactions that they appear unhealthy; and it will be only a short time until you fellows will absorb all wealth. And inasmuch as the city government is for the better protection of all the people, be it ordained by the city council: That any person, firm or corporation engaged in the city of Los Angeles in the business of loaning money for profit, who receives a greater interest or profit than eight per cent *net* per annum, shall turn into the public treasury Common-Good-Fund for the benefit of all the people, all the profit or interest so received over and above the said eight per cent. Any person, firm or corporation violating this law in

person, or through its officers and agents, such person, officer or agent shall be guilty of a felony.

And inasmuch as your July, 1909, statement shows that the whole thirty-five banks in the city had in cash less than $10,000,000, and you owed $105,932,424.-77, deposits, besides your capital stock of $12,903,300, or that you owed more than ten times what you had cash to pay; and $2,000,000 of that $10,000,000 belonged to the city, on which you only pay interest of 2 per cent; we respectfully suggest that you stop speculating with your deposits and keep on hand a sufficient amount of cash to supply the needs of this community without demanding exorbitant rates of interest.

Your financial statement shows conclusively, that your exorbitant interest-earning is on book account, rather than with cash, and this does not look like legitimate commercial banking, but partakes more of the character of the speculation referred to, and denounced by Senator La Follette.

And we respectfully suggest that a few more smoke-stacks in the industrial district will be more conducive to the permanency of healthy growth than more three-ball shops.

FIFTY YEARS BEHIND.

The fact is that while we are boasting of our modern American civilization, genius, wonderful growth and advancement, we are fully fifty years behind the cities of continental Europe in civic government. Civic government in the United States cities is today under the most unbridled money and whisky oligarchy the world ever knew.

I make the bold challenge that there is not a civic government or street railway system in the State of California, Oregon or Washington that is not controlled by the Southern Pacific Railway, or the General Electric Trust, through their private bankers and political agents. And these forces control the city councils in every city from San Diego to British Columbia. And the people of these cities are paying tribute to these forces for their transportation, heat, light and power, and are as much slaves as was the black man of fifty years ago.

These forces have kept a political bucket-shop in every important city on the Pacific Coast, where their political broker determines who shall be the nominees in both political parties to the state legislature, the judiciary and for every other political office. If the utility corporations that are but subsidiary corporations

of the railways, control and dictate the election and nomination of legislators, and those legislators elect the senators, who now frame the tariff laws and run the government, not to suit national platforms, nor the wishes of the people, nor presidential pledges, but to suit the trusts and transportation interests, it is easy to see why the utility corporations have such a jealous regard for who is elected to the state legislatures and to your boards of supervisors and city councils.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOL MUST TEACH CIVIC GOVERNMENT.

Prof. Fairlie of the University of Michigan, in his essay on administrative government says; "Even in the states of the middle west nearly one-sixth of the public high schools give no work in civil government; while in other parts of the country the proportion of secondary schools where the subject is wholly neglected is much larger;—from one-fourth in the north Atlantic and far western states to one-half in the south Atlantic group."

He further adds: "Some of the largest and best Universities in the country which offer ample work in municipal government to advanced and graduate students, who specialize in history and political science, *fail* to offer the more elementary work for the general body of students."

Surely civic government—the government of a boy or girl's own town or city, above all other branches of study, ought to be taught to the boy or girl at the impressionable age, between 12 and 20; or in all eighth grades of every common school in the land, as well as in the high schools and colleges and universities.

DEPLORABLE CONDITION.

This is a most lamentable condition of affairs in a country of free schools, where we claim the very highest standards of education. Is it any wonder that there is civic corruption and graft?

Human nature is no different now from what it was when the machine money-changers desecrated the Temple. There is no forum, nor legislative hall they will not corrupt today. In truth and in fact there is not one that they have not polluted, or tried to pollute within the last thirty years. They buy senators or legislators or supervisors or aldermen, like they buy wheat or coal or hogs. They buy a congress, a city or a legislature, by seeing to it that their pliant tools are

elected to office to do their bidding. They steal a franchise, a public utility, which is the right to tax, through their attorneys and paid hirelings, and then, yell "vested rights" to protect "vested wrongs."

I say to you, that neither the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, nor the Direct Primary, nor Municipal Ownership, nor Commission Government alone, or combined, unaccompanied by a thorough knowledge, or to say the least an elementary knowledge of Civic Government and the very highest standard of business dealings of a sober people with pure minds, will prevent civic corruption and the debasement of the public conscience—they all must go together.

COMPULSORY VOTING NECESSARY.

The public school must teach not only the principles of Civic Government, but must teach character and conscience. It must teach that alcohol is a *true poison.* That physiologically it is not strengthening, but weakening to the mental, moral and physical being. The public school must teach, nay, every university and college and fireside must teach, not only these facts, but they must teach that it is the first duty of every man and woman to exercise the franchise and protect the government from the onslaughts of greed and selfish gain. Compulsory voting is absolutely necessary.

The abasement of the public conscience of the last twenty years could never have sunk to the level and low moral standard that has produced the flagrant violations of public trust and graft, that have been exposed, had these things been taught and enforced.

It is sad to contemplate that with all our boasted civilization, we are compelled to go to the Austro-Hungarian cities of Vienna and Budapest to find the model Modern City. Here the necessities and public utilities are conserved to and for the benefit of all the people. Here taxation is the lowest. Here civic virtue is the highest. Here nothing is farmed out to the banker, the stock manipulator and speculator. Every public utility is operated by the people. You don't have to pay two telephone companies tribute to let a few bond-fakers and brokers fatten off the public. The poor widow to bury her husband or child is not compelled to mortgage her little home to the undertaker, or the private owner of the cemetery or crematory; the city attends to these matters at actual cost.

CIVIC DAMAGE COMMISSION.

If the wife is made a widow through the negligence of a railroad or street railway, or other corporation or private individual, she does not have to go into court and fight a powerful foe, or be forced to take a pittance or nothing at all; but a civic commission sits in judgment and assesses the damage and cost and it has to be paid, or the franchise is forfeited and property confiscated to the payment of the arbitration. This method and procedure is true in nearly all European cities. It insures prompt liquidation of damages. Prevents the afflicted from being mulcted by unscrupulous lawyers. Decreases the work of Courts and lessens the burdens of taxation, and is a blessing to the municipal, as well as to the private corporation.

VIENNA.

Prof. Fairlie says; "In Vienna the fourth largest city in Europe, civic government has made greater strides than in any city in the world during the last fifteen years. It has complete municipal autonomy or home rule or self-government." And this is what every city in America must have. We think we have done great things in Los Angeles, Seattle and San Francisco on the Pacific Coast, and in Chicago and New York and Baltimore and St. Louis and Detroit in the East.

But more stupendous physical reconstruction and municipalization of public utilities have taken place in Vienna in the last ten years, than in any city in the world.

"*Birmingham*, thirty-five years ago, under the leadership of Joseph Chamberlin, purchased and has operated ever since its water and gas system. The street railways have been taken over. During thirty-five years of municipal operation of the gas plant the price of gas has been materially reduced, the efficiency increased; and after paying all fixed charges, interest and sinking-fund and extensions, the surplus has averaged $200,000 annually. The surplus in thirty-five years has been more than $6,000,000. And while the gas consumption has trebled, the expense charged to capital account has increased only 25 per cent.

HOUSING SYSTEM.

Birmingham has adopted the housing plan of the German cities. The city purchases suburban property, reserves tracts for building spaces for public needs (get-

ting city property at first cost), for parks, fire and police stations, schools and libraries, and then sells, or leases to purchasers, and has reduced cost of lots for homes for its artisans and mechanics and laborers more than fifty per cent; and has reduced the speculation in real estate, without involving the city in building operations, or care for buildings. London and Glasgow are doing the same thing.

LONDON.

"More than half the street railway trackage in London is under the County Council and it does two-thirds of the traffic. Fares average range one-half penny to three pence. More than four and three-fourths pay a penny or less.

Glasgow has nearly 200 miles of street railway in operation. More than three times what it was in 1894 And the average fare is under a penny:—Yielded a net surplus of $175,000 that went into the "Common Good" fund. More than a million dollars have been turned in since 1894.

What these European cities have learned from centuries of experience is wise to do, can be done by every American city, if the people will bring government back to the people. If the people will drive the political broker, the speculator in public utilities and the saloon out of business, they will drive the evils out of government. And that is all that is needed.

DETROIT.

Detroit fifteen years ago established a municipal electric plant. And ten years ago it established an asphalt paving plant. In the electric plant, after paying all fixed charges and allowing for interest on the investment, annual depreciation, taxes that would have been collected had the plant been operated by a private corporation. repairs and extensions, it saved to the people of Detroit in one decade $460,000. The cost of arc lights was reduced from $132 to an average for the decade of $87.63 for the year. In 1903 the lowest bid was $102 per light. The efficiency was increased by reducing the outages from 86,426 lamp hours to 7,465 per year. For the year 1897-8 the cost was at the rate of $83.46 for each arc lamp for 3,786 hours in the year, or $.00.049 per kilowatt hour. While an examination of the tables in the Labor Commissioners report for 1899, shows that no group of private companies charged for public lighting less

than $.0514 per kilowatt hour; and that when the hours of service are considered, no group charged as low a price for arc lamps as the cost in Detroit.

BUSINESS METHODS.

What has been done in Detroit can be done in every city in the country, in successful operation of electric light plants and every other public utility. All that is necessary is business methods. In other words, the methods and principles involved in true civil service reform, which are "the selection of public officials on the basis of their fitness for public service; and the maintenance of the public service honestly and up to the very highest efficiency." This is what is being applied to civic government in European cities. And there is hardly a great or small center of population on the continent of Europe that does not operate and control its public utilities and public necessities.

In America very few cities control anything more than their water systems.

New Orleans owns its water-front and all railroads enter the city over the belt-line, skirting the water-front. Indianapolis has the same system of belt-line. Every city should certainly own its railroad terminals. Why talk of municipal docks and let the railroads have their own terminals?

Seattle has an electric plant, a municipal market and an employment agency. Portland an asphalt paving plant. Detroit an electric plant and an asphalt paving plant. On page 8 of the Public Commissions Report, are these words, "Cash cost per arc lamp, fiscal year ending June 30th, 1908, $34.65." On page 9 of the report for 1904-5 this language appears, "The price charged Detroit by private electric lighting corporations from 1884 to 1895, ranged from $239.94 to $128.87 per arc lamp.

"A private corporation lights Buffalo by contract. That city is favorably situated for cheap electric lighting. Niagara Falls furnishing the power necessary for its generation. A ten years contract for lighting, from 1896 to 1905, started with $117.75 per arc light of 2,000 candle power per year. In 1897 the price was $100 per arc light and remained at that figure until 1902, when it was $75 per arc light per year. This makes an average cost per arc light for the ten years contract $91.77 per year, which is $4.14 per arc light greater than Detroit has paid, including the entire cost of the plant. In other words, if our lighting plant were wiped out of existence, Detroit would have paid an

average of $4.14 per arc lamp per year less than Buffalo in the last decade."

If the city of Detroit can do this as against Buffalo, where power ought to be cheaper than in any city in America, then no further proof or argument is necessary to prove that every city in America can do the same thing if it will do as Detroit did. Select its best business men for its commission and apply business methods, not politics and graft to the operation.

"ROSENBAUM THE SOLDIER."

But these public utilities cannot be successfully run, nor can anything be successfully run if the Reufs and Wrights and Pincuses and Oswalds and Mickey the grafter, and "Rosenbaum the soldier," and such ilk are permitted to name the railroad commissioners, supervisors, legislators, judges, councilmen, congressmen and senators. And they will name the commissions and the administrative officers, just as long as the honest business man stays away from the primaries. So long as you allow the fellows below the deadline to control politics, so long as you have the saloon-in-politics-for-protection, just so long will Pincus, Goings, et al, live and fatten off frail virtue and vice.

Until you remove the saloon from your best business corners and best business streets, where your sons and daughters are forced to run the gauntlet of their moral depravity and displace them with moral influences; until you stop putting fifty or a hundred gin-mills on your best thoroughfares; until you stop masquerading as a Christian gentleman on Sunday and voting for that increased rent from the bawdy house on Monday; until you remove the death houses from the streets and put a few nature-places and healthy places of pleasant recreation and amusement for the young men and young women in their stead; until you change that poker-room or bridge-room into a quiet devotional room, where you can take that boy or girl and sit down by his or her side like a brother, until you quit ringing up that telephone and asking Jack or Tom or Billy, to bring up a flask in the afternoon before the "old man" comes home; you will have rotten cities and rotten government and rotten homes.

The rottenness of New York, Chicago, San Francisco and many other cities of America is so appalling today that it is a wonder that the indulgence and mercy of an Almighty God has not been withdrawn long ago.

THE PEOPLE SADDLED AND RIDDEN

One hundred and thirty-three years ago the Declaration of Independence, the mightiest indenture executed by man and sealed with the blood of the revolution, that Edward Everett said, "is equal to anything ever born of parchment, or expressed in visible signs of thought," was written as a commandment against moral and physical slavery. And the immortal Washington in 1826, in response to an invitation to be present at the National Capital to celebrate the Fiftieth Anniversary of American Independence, wrote; "All eyes are opened to the rights of man. The general spread of the light of science has already laid open to every view, the palpable truth that the mass of mankind has not been born with saddles on their backs, nor a favored few booted and spurred ready to ride them legitimately by the grace of God."

This is as true today, as when that sublime and wondrous mind expressed the thought on parchment, notwithstanding the saddling and riding of the American people for the last thirty years by the "booted and spurred" increasing-tarriff robber barons and trust creators and defenders; and industrial transportation and utility franchise grabbers, represented by Rockefellerism and Morganism and Carnegieism, and Cannonism. The man who thinks he is popular because of these things mistakes tolerance and forbearance for approval.

Thank God, their reign of unbridled lust and power is mighty near an end!

Why the Pacific Coast and inter-mountain States and cities of Denver, Salt Lake, Butte, Helena and Spokane should be plundered by inequitable and exorbitant transportation rates, like the assassin holds up the wayfarer at the point of a gun, is inexplicable, except that the "spread of the light of science" has been stopped; and the light darkened and put out by the "favored few," booted and spurred ready to ride them *illegitimately*.

Oh! for one, just one defender of these States and cities and people, among all our twenty-three Congressmen and the eighteen trust representatives in the United States Senate!

For one Washington, or Jefferson, or Adams, or Jackson, or Clay, or Webster, or Calhoun, to defend these nine Western States from the extortoins of combinations by railway and other industrial monopolies!

Nay, for one, for only one, loyal defender of the people of this great half of these United States, like a mighty Webster, a Lincoln, or La Follette, to fight

for the rights of the great common people and defend public opinion.

Human slavery, whether it be through money, whisky or industrial debasement of citizenship and virtue in our modern cities throughout the nation, through the lust and extravagance of the ignorant and new-rich, must not be permitted to defraud posterity of the blessings of liberty and Christian righteousness, purchased with the sacred sufferings and blood of our Forefathers.

The civilized world looks to us to keep the blood-bought banner of constitutional liberty and freedom forever floating in the breeze as a signal of victorious emancipation. And if we permit our cities, the great theaters of public opinion, to be despoiled, we will be recreant to the trust reposed in us, and our government will suffer the history of all republics.

A WARNING.

To the shame of this Republic, founded on the teachings of the Christ, the wrecks and experience of history and the principles of the Declaration of Independence: At the coming Yule-tide, more than three million people in American cities will be recipients of charity, before they can enjoy the necessities, to say nothing of the luxuries of the season.

Let the oppression of concentration of power of the past and present generations continue fifty years more, and that three million will have grown to a mighty host that will refuse to be the recipients of charity, but will demand their constitutional rights of, "Equal rights to all and special privilege to none;" and it will take more than a Caesarian genius to re-establish Liberty and Freedom.

Sophistries of Mayor Rose Exposed

SPEECH OF ADAM DIXON WARNER,

Delivered at First Methodist Church in Salt Lake City, Utah, December 5th, 1909, in answer to Mayor Rose of Milwaukee.

Fellow Citizens:

When I heard Mayor Rose in Chicago last spring defending the liquor traffic and holding up Lincoln as being in favor of it, I made up my mind then that I would answer that speech in every city of the nation.

It is not with vengeance that I speak against these institutions of evil, but I want to give my experience with the traffic and the saloon for the benefit of the human race. I am making this fight against the institutions of evil,—the saloon and the whisky slavery, and the invasion of the rights and liberties of the people, on the same broad ground that Washington, and Jefferson, and Franklin, and Adams, and Hamilton, and Patrick Henry, and Lloyd Garrison, and Wendell Phillips, and Henry Ward Beecher, and the Immortal Lincoln, and Grant, fought and waged war against that other slavery, —to free the human race. Upon the broad ground of what Lincoln said was the "real issue in this country,— the eternal struggle between these two principles—right and wrong." They are the two principles that have stood face to face from the beginning of time, and will ever continue to struggle.

The one is the common right of humanity, and the other is the divine right of kings. The one is equal rights and the other is special privileges. It is the same principle in whatever shape it develops itself. It is the same spirit that says, "you work and toil and earn bread and I'll eat it."

What slavery said, the whisky traffic and the saloon say, you work and toil and earn bread and we'll eat it.

My fight is not against the saloon-keeper, he is but an incident in the argument. My quarrel is with the saloon and the traffic—the system that has dragged down and is daily dragging down the brightest minds of the nation. I personally know more than a thousand of my boyhood and manhood companions and acquaintances at the bar and other professions and sciences that the accursed traffic and its agency, the saloon, have taken from the citadel of respected citizenship and left wrecks of moral depravity; and only for the merciful intervention of my Master and Savior, I, too, long ago would have been numbered among its victims.

I oppose the saloon and the liquor traffic because they are opposing the higher development of the human race. I oppose them because the traffic increased during the last decade thirty-nine per cent, while the population only increased twenty-one per cent. In other words, the debasement of citizenship increased nearly double what citizenship increased. I oppose them because wine and whisky took an inch from the French race in a hundred years, and its ravages have increased as the consumption has increased in America.

THE SALOON A LEGALIZED OUTLAW.

I oppose them because the Modern Saloon breeds hate, not love; discord, not harmony. It populates your criminal courts and madhouses and jails, and depopulates your schools and colleges and churches. It inveigles the youth from the schoolroom to the race-track and reformatory and workhouse, and seduces the only support of a widowed mother from the counting-room to the bagnio and the gambling hell.

Alcohol's constant devitalization of the nervous system, and its agency,—*The Modern Saloon*, destroys the power of resistance through every stage of excitement, muscular and mental weakness and unconsciousness, and paralyzes the nerves that regulate the passage of blood through the capillaries. It deprives the machinery of life of its vital force, while it surges the blood with increased violence; and the brain, once brilliant, is now affected; the will is weakened, the center of thought overpowered; the mind bewildered in chaos until judgment gives way to the idle vaporings of the tongue, unbridled by reason; power of discrimination between right and wrong is obscured; the gloss of education, refinement, home, and home's training and social restraint are all lost; and the lower, baser, brutal nature stands revealed, overpowering

the higher mental faculties, just as weeds in the garden smother and destroy the most delicate flower and prevent its bloom. In the meshes of its debasing influence, the coward is more craven, the braggart more boastful, the cruel more vulture like, and the daring more bold and law-defiant. The gambler, the bribe-taker and the bribe giver, the burglar, the assassin and the murderer—the welcome guests of its hospitality, brazenly assume respectability to hide their villainy.

The saloon is at best an outlaw, tolerated by the sufferance of society in which it exists. Today there is no more reason for the saloon or justification for its existence than there is for the public opium den, or the bagnio, or the gambling hell. It is no more nor less than a stall, or stable, designed by malevolence and cunning, to rob men of reason and money. It is the Devil's automobile on the road to Hell, with the saloonkeeper as chauffeur. As the burglar, the highwayman and assassin run from the light and strike their deadly blow in the night, so does the saloon do its biggest business after dark.

Today, in every city in the West, to simulate respectability and disguise its perfidy it slanders and dishonors an honored benevolent organization, across whose sands not one of its votaries can tread, by filching from it the name of "Royal Arch," and is engaged in the mission of double-dealing, cajoling and threatening public officials to do its bidding, and is as dangerous to, and destructive of honest government as any Mafia that ever existed in New Orleans, or the vilest plague spot in Italy.

YOU DON'T BELIEVE ME!

Ah, look yonder! I see a great prison over yonder, and I see somebody's son in delirium, hunger, poverty, robbery, larceny, assassination and murder, while you are splitting hairs about means and methods. If you think I don't know what I am talking about, let me say to you that I have practiced law, patronized the saloon, and have been pretty closely identified with politics in the West nearly all my life, and I know the methods of both the politician and the saloon.

And if it were the last words I were to utter, I would say to every father, mother, sister and brother, that the *accursed saloon* is the most debasing and destructive force in all the world.

If, on my death-bed, I had the choice of removing one of all of the evils of the world, I would remove the *saloon*, and be satisfied that I had done the greatest service to mankind that had been done since the days of Jesus of Nazareth.

Mothers! Fathers! Men! Do you see those prison bars yonder? *Think*, and *think*, and *think*, and *then think again! And then act!* Your relatives or friends may have a son behind those bars! And your apathy or your action may have put him there!

There are 200,000 inmates in those awful prisons in the United States.

To the *Ballot!* To the *Polls!* To its *Limitation.* To its *Subjection* and *Control! And then to its Obliteration.*

I have defended a thousand men for crime, and I know the saloon is the robber's retreat, the housebreaker's pawnshop, the burglar's cache, the footpad's fence, and the assassin's alibi.

INVADES THE SCHOOLS.

I have seen it invade the educational institution and take the idol of a mother's heart from the seat of learning and leave him a pitiable mass of depravity in the gutter. I have seen it insinuate itself into the domestic circle and beguile sweet innocence and purity, the most perfect adornment of society and the home, from the happy hearthstone into a life of shame and dishonor.

THE SALOON IN POLITICS.

Every city in the United States that has been slandered and disgraced by the exposures of investigations has been the victim of the saloon in politics.

SUGGESTS A REMEDY.

I have been asked since I have been here my solution of the gambling and street-walking. I answer, close the saloon. Hire a new Chief of Police. If that won't do, hire a new Mayor. All police power is summary power, and once you let the law violator, the gambler, the soiled woman and the army of law-violators that thrive off non-enforcement of law, understand that the police power is going to be enforced, you will have to get a special train to take them out of town fast enough. If you don't believe it, make a trip to Los Angeles and ask the present Mayor and Chief of Police. We recalled a Mayor for refusal to enforce the law, and hired a new Chief of Police. Now the dens of infamy and gambling hells are closed, and the saloonkeeper who violates the law loses his license, and his place is closed, and the city is clean, and our wives and sisters are safe.

And today Los Angeles is the model Modern City of America.

OFFICIAL MALFEASANCE IS THE GENIUS OF DEGENERACY OF GOVERNMENT.

Benjamin Harrison once said:

"As the citizen may not elect what laws he shall obey, neither may the executive elect what laws he shall enforce." The assumption of Mayors and Chiefs of Police and other officers of a discretion to enforce or not enforce a law they have solemnly sworn to execute, is a fertile and ever-increasing source of demoralization, and should be rebuked by their creators. It makes law uncertain, partial, special, unjust and a mockery.

The Mayor or other public officer who refuses to enforce the Constitution and the laws of his State, and hides behind the subterfuge that he believes in "*home rule*," does as much violence to his oath of office as any other perjurer. He puts his own personal idea or interest in the place of the lawmaker. That is just what the burglar or assassin does when he executes according to his own will, in defiance of law.

I say official law-violation is the worst kind of law-violation.

Malfeasance in office and non-enforcement of law are the two greatest evils in civic government. And my experience of thirty years as a lawyer and in practical politics is that the dirty, slimy, insidious, debasing traffic in alcohol, and its agency, the modern saloon, are more responsible for these iniquities than all other influences.

Official lawlessness is the most intriguing and insidious evil in civil government. It strikes at the very foundation of government, and is anarchy.

The public officer who wilfully betrays his trust is as guilty of treason to his state or his city as was Benedict Arnold, and not until the people hold public officers up to a strict adherence and accountability, will betrayal of public trust end.

To repress lawlessness and elevate the moral tone of the community two essentials are necessary. The first is a strong controlling public opinion, and the determined purpose of the people to have the laws enforced. The moral condition of a community will not rise above the sociological force behind it. A community can have just as good or bad government as it wants. If it permits civic slavery it will get it.

SALOON SLAVERY.

As Lincoln condemned the other slavery on moral grounds as a crime against the human race, I condemn the whisky and saloon slavery on the same grounds, and I call to the witness stand the Supreme Court of the United States.

"It is not necessary to array the appalling statistics of misery, pauperism, and crime which have their origin in the use and abuse of ardent spirits * * * If a loss of revenue should accrue to the United States from a diminished consumption of ardent spirits she would be a gainer a thousandfold in the health, wealth and happiness of the people."

And again, when the saloon was in question; it said: "There are few sources of crime and misery to society equal to the dram shop, where intoxicating liquors in small quantities, to be drunk at the time, are sold indiscriminately to all parties applying. The statistics of every state show a greater amount of crime and misery attributable to the use of ardent spirits obtained at those retail liquor saloons than to any other source."

As Lincoln denounced slavery as a cancer that was sapping the vitals of the nation, I oppose the saloon on the same ground that Uncle Sam, the State, the County, and the City refuse to allow saloons to operate when they are transacting the business of the franchise with the people. There is not a state, county or city or hamlet in the Union that will permit the dirty traffic to operate on election day, when the voter exercises his franchise. Why? Because they know that whisky deprives him of honest judgment and citizenship.

A MORAL REVOLUTION.

This fight is a moral revolution to regenerate the human race, and revolutions never go backwards. They are irresistible and final. This fight is the business man's fight. The business man, the employer of labor, and the trades unions, the laborers themselves, have learned that ardent spirits destroy man's efficiency and earning capacity. They have learned that the saloon and drink have driven many a strong man to poverty and crime. The lawyers and doctors have learned that whisky is a *poison*. The athletes have learned that they cannot retain physical vigor and drink whisky. Ask any of them. It has taken that modern Hercules, Jeffries, a year and a half before he dare meet the negro, Johnson. Why, I could have licked him myself a year ago.

Today there is hardly a railroad corporation, or indus-

trial manager that will employ a man who drinks on duty, and some of them will not employ a man who drinks at all. Some of the greatest industrial institutions will not tolerate drinking at all, whether on or off duty. The business man of today wants the best brains he can get.

The business man has learned, as I have learned, after an experience of thirty years as a patron of it, that the saloon is an institution of *evil.*

THE MODERN SALOON.

Do you know what one saloon to every 1,000 people means?

It means one saloon to every 200 men. About 60 per cent of the men drink, or every saloon will have 120 patrons. The receipts will average about $60 a day. That is 50 cents spent by each patron; or in 365 days $182.50 is spent by each patron for ardent spirits.

Did it ever occur to you what that money, that you have given to the saloonkeeper would do, at interest compounded for twenty years? Go home and figure it out.

Did it ever occur to you that you can refurnish a home of the average working man with that $182.50?

Did it ever occur to you that it would buy thirty barrels of flour, or sixty pairs of warm woolen blankets, or all the groceries and meats for a family of five working people for a year?

Or pay the rent of a comfortable cottage for a year?

Or in five years it would pay for a snug lot and comfortable cottage?

You say: "*That* never occurred to me."

Did it ever occur to you that the saloonkeeper has the snug lots and several cottages, and an automobile?

What have you got?

You have got a destroyed stomach, indigestion, weakened intellect, a red nose, and a ticket to Hell, if you don't *look out!*

But Rose says you have helped the corn market.

Let me show you what you have done.

One bushel of corn makes four gallons of whisky that retails at $16.80. Out of that the farmer gets 50 cents, the railroads get 80 cents, the manufacturer gets $4, the government gets $4.40, and the saloonkeeper gets $7.10.

And you get drunk. And your children have to stay from school for the want of clothes, and your wife wears a calico dress and you walk; while the saloonkeeper with your *seven dollars* rides.

I say the whisky traffic and the saloon are founded on injustice and bad policy, to every human being, except those who make it and sell it. In addition to the Supreme Court of the Nation, I summon the Supreme Court of every State in the Union; I summon the two hundred thousand prisoners, the two hundred thousand insane, the million paupers, the two million schoolless, hungry, ragged children. The million inmates of the almshouses and workshops and reformatories; the twelve million wives and children who are denied the luxuries and necessaries of life. The five million workmen who are robbed of their earnings by this accursed traffic. Nay, I summon that splendid army of preachers, the teachers and lawyers, and doctors; and all the wives and mothers of this nation, to prove that the Supreme Court spoke the truth when it denounced this frightful scourge to the human race.

I call the billion and a half dollars that came out of the pockets of the toilers—the wage earners—last year, that was earned for bread and clothes and education, but went for whisky and destruction.

I want to call the Immortal Lincoln as a witness. I want to prove to the people of Salt Lake, and the entire United States that Mayor Rose's attempt to bolster up his defense of the saloon and the accursed liquor traffic with the aid of Abraham Lincoln was a base libel and a slander against the name of one of the world's greatest patriots.

I am told that Mr. Rose did here just what he did in Chicago. That he cited the House Journal of 1839-40 of the records of the Secretary of State of Illinois to create the impression and prove that Lincoln was in favor of the saloon and the liquor traffic.

The fact is that all that record discloses (and I have a transcript of Mr. Rose's statement of the record) that Mr. Lincoln made a motion to lay an amendment on the table. Now, Rose knows, and every lawyer, politician and parliamentarian; nearly every layman and schoolboy knows, that such a motion could have no other effect than to lay the whole subject matter on the table. And the act was "An Act to Regulate Tavern and Grocery Licenses." Such a thing as the accursed, insidious, present-day saloon was unknown at that time. The entire traffic was done in the tavern and grocery. Again, Mr. Lincoln at that time was a mere boy, but thirty years of age, and his experience was somewhat limited.

But three years later, in 1842, listen to what Mr. Lincoln said in his Memorial day address, before the Springfield Washingtonian Temperance Society, February 22nd, 1842, delivered in what he believed to be the

most sacred hour of his life—Washington's birthday. And one would think he was talking of present-day conditions.

EXTRACTS FROM LINCOLN.

He said: "Although the temperance cause has been in progress for nearly twenty years, it is apparent to all that it is just now being crowned with a degree of success hitherto unparalleled.

"The list of its friends is daily swelled by the additions of fifties, of hundreds and of thousands. The cause itself seems suddenly transformed from a cold abstract theory to a living, breathing, active and powerful chieftain, going forth 'conquering and to conquer.' The citadels of his great adversary are daily being stormed and dismantled; his temples and his altars, where the rites of idolatrous worship have long been performed, and where human sacrifices have long been wont to be made, are daily desecrated and deserted. The triumph of the conqueror's fame is sounding from hill to hill, from sea to sea, and from land to land, and calling millions to his standard at a blast. * * * The preacher, it is said, advocates temperance because he is a fanatic, and desires a union of the church and state; the lawyer from his pride of hearing himself speak; and the hired agent for his salary. But when one has long been known as a victim of intemperance bursts the fetters that have bound him and appears before his neighbors, 'clothed and in his right mind,' a redeemed specimen of long lost humanity, and stands up, with tears of joy trembling in his eyes, to tell of the miseries once endured, now to be endured no more forever; of his once naked and starving children, now clad and fed comfortably; of a wife long weighed down by woe, weeping and a broken heart, now restored to health, happiness and renewed affection; and how easily it is all done; how simple his language; there is a logic and an eloquence in it that few with human feelings can resist. * * *

"*Whether or not the world would be vastly benefited by a total and final banishment from it of all intoxicating drinks seems to me not now an open question. Three-fourths of mankind confess the affirmative with their tongues, and I believe all the rest acknowledge it in their hearts.* * * *

"For the man suddenly, or in any other way, to break off from the use of drams who has indulged in them for a long course of years, and until his appetite for them has grown ten, or a hundredfold stronger and more craving than any natural appetite can be, requires a most power-

ful moral effort. In such an undertaking he needs *every moral support and influence that can possibly be brought to his aid, and thrown around him. And not only so, but every moral prop should be taken from whatever argument might rise in his mind to lure him to his backsliding. When he casts his eyes around him, he should be able to see all that he respects, all that he admires, all that he loves, kindly and anxiously pointing him onward, and none beckoning him back to his former miserable 'wallowing in the mire.'* * * *

"The demon of intemperance ever seems to have gone forth like an Egyptian angel of death, commissioned to slay, if not the first, the fairest born of every family. Shall he now be arrested in his desolating career? In that arrest, all can give aid that will; *and who shall be* excused that can and will not? Far around as human breath has ever blown he keeps our fathers, our brothers, our sons and our friends prostrate in the chains of moral death. * * * If the relative grandeur of revolutions shall be estimated by the great amount of human misery they alleviate, and the small amount they inflict, then indeed will this be the grandest the world shall have ever seen. * * *

"In the temperance revolution we shall find a stronger bondage broken, a viler slavery manumitted, a greater tyrant deposed; in it more want supplied, more disease healed, more sorrow assuaged. By it no orphans starving, no widows weeping. By it none wounded in feeling, none injured in interests. Even the drammaker and dramseller will have glided into other occupations so gradually as never to have felt the change, and will stand ready to join all others in the universal song of gladness. And what a noble ally this for the cause of political freedom; with such an aid its march cannot fail to be on and on, until every son of earth shall drink in rich fruition the sorrow-quenching draughts of perfect liberty. Happy day when all appetites controlled, all passions subdued, all matter subjected- mind all conquering mind, shall live and move the monarch of the world. Glorious consummation. Hail fall of fury! Reign of reason, all hail!"

Now, if that is not a sufficient prohibition speech for Mr. Rose and the brewers and distillers and saloonkeepers and barkeepers and bawdyhouse keepers, I don't know what they want. It's a better one than I can make, or I ever heard anyone else make. To my mind, it is hot enough to drive the traffic, saloons, breweries, distilleries and death houses and Mr. Rose, clear down to the place where Rose will surely go, if he does not repent for slandering Lincoln.

Rose says: "That he searched through all of the writings and all that has been written about Lincoln, to find where Mr. Lincoln had ever said anything on the subject of prohibition," and leaves the impression and struggles to create the impression that Lincoln was in favor of the liquor traffic;—when if he had been as honest with the public as he was zealous for his employers, he would have looked on pages 261, 275, Vol. 1, Centennial Edition of writings of Lincoln, published in 1905; and on page 279 of the same book where Mr. Lincoln himself, in a letter to Joshua Speed says; "that his speech was published in the Sangamon Journal." And if Mayor Rose had half looked in the State House in Springfield, Ills., he would have found the Sangamon Journal on file containing the full speech from which these quotations are extracts.

What do you good Republicans and Democrats and Mormons and Jews and Gentiles think Lincoln would do with your one hundred and fifty licensed saloons and dens of infamy in Salt Lake City?

What do you think now, of the slanderous and libelous tongues that have gone about the country falsely holding up America's patron saint if it ever had one,—Abraham Lincoln, as being in favor of their nefarious liquor traffic?

Do you suppose that the greatest humanitarian of history would refuse to support his sentiments as expressed in this speech, if he were on earth today? Do you suppose that he would not be in the vanguard defending the home, the church, the library and the school and the fireside, against the frightful carnage of this traffic, when he realized that the consumption of alcoholic liquors had risen to nineteen and a third gallons for every man, woman and child; and was "destroying the health, wealth and happiness of the people."

PERSONAL LIBERTY.

Mayor Rose talks about personal liberty? What becomes of your personal liberty when you disobey your police, health or fire ordinances? His misleading and fallacious "personal liberty" argument may delude and mislead the ignorant, so his clients may further and longer live off their hard-earned wages, that should go to buy clothes and bread and education instead of whisky; but his personal liberty argument is fully answered by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Crowley vs. Christensen, from my own State, California; decided in 137 U. S. page 87.

It is not personal liberty that Mayor Rose is pleading for. It is not more personal liberty that the distiller, brewer and saloonkeeper want, but it is *special privilege*, to make money out of the other fellow's personal liberty. They want special privilege to make a living out of the money the other fellow has earned for bread.

This is the same argument that the other slave-holders used to Wendell Phillips, Henry Ward Beecher and Lincoln; and Lincoln answered them, "that their slavery was a cancer eating out the vitals of the nation;" and he answered them with the *Proclamation of Emancipation.*

Mr. Rose says that prohibition does not prohibit. Let him read the charge to the Grand Jury of the Southern District of Georgia, by Judge Speer, of February 27th, 1908, reported in 162 Federal Reporter, page 736, where he says:

"Already the most astounding benefits have been experienced by the people at large from the Prohibition Law. Why, even the dumb brutes, who have been subjected to the service of man, would if they could thank God for prohibition. The hard-driving and neglect of the drunken negro and drunken white man as well, have been succeeded by kindliness and attention. The State of Georgia in twelve months will gain incalculable advantages in improvement." * * * "*The Police Courts of such great cities as Macon, Augusta and Atlanta, when contrasted with their former methods, have practically gone out of business.*" * * * "In a short time after the abolition of the liquor traffic in the noble city of Athens, I have seen the drunkard reformed and reconsecrated to his duties of manhood, his dingy house repainted, his fences rebuilded, his once pathetic barefoot dirty little children clean, well-clothed, well-shod and well-fed, with bright eyes hastening to school, and the wife, whose once worn and wasted features, in the happiness and pride of his resurrection, had regained the loveliness and charm of youth."

Let him write to the Governor of Kansas, or to the mayors of the hundreds of cities that have put the saloon out of business! Or to the Presidents of the railways, or general managers of industrial institutions.

Which will you believe: the United States District Judge of the Southern District of Georgia performing his sacred duty from the bench to the Grand Jury; the Supreme Court of the United States and Abraham Lincoln and the presidents of the railways of the country, or will you believe Mayor Rose on the platform as

the mouth-piece of the Liquor Dealer's Association of America?

ROSE SOPHISTRIES EXPOSED.

Mr. Rose asks the business men of the country if the industry does not pay into the treasury two hundred and twenty-three million: and eighty-four million into the city treasuries? I ask the business men if they would not rather have had that amount spent in the regular channels of trade that did not produce want and hunger: that had to be cared for by the charities of the real business men of the nation? I ask where that two hundred and twenty-three million came from? Did it not come out of the toiler and wage-earner: and deprive their wives and children of the necessities of life that should have been bought from the real business man through the regular channels of trade?

I ask, if that vast sum and the *billion and a half more* that the traffic took from the wives and children of the nation and gave absolutely nothing in return, but sorrow, want and death, had not been spent for *booze* would it not have been spent for homes and lumber, hardware, more bread, groceries, meat, wool, cotton, leather, furniture, carpets and all the necessities of life?

I ask the business man if this would not have been better than to have had it spent over the bars of the nation, where it produced ninety per cent of the pauperism, eighty per cent of crime, forty-five per cent of lunacy and thirty-five per cent of idiocy and increased your burdens of taxation and increased the cost of the administration of justice and never, never erected one schoolhouse, or one college or one university or made one home brighter and happier?

Do you not know that every arrest for drunkenness in the nation costs the business man nine dollars and every conviction costs you forty-five dollars?

There were two hundred thousand prisoners, two hundred thousand insane, and two million in the workhouses and reformatories last year that had to be cared for by the business man. How? Either by taxation or through your charity or both?

How do you like the looks of it, Mr. Business Man?

WANTS TO MAKE BUSINESS.

I don't want to destroy business. I want to make business. I want to turn the stream of gold that now runs into the brewery and distillery and saloon and vice, into the bakery for bread: and the butcher shop

and store and schoolhouse, to make business that makes better men and women and makes character. The saloon is not a business institution, and the saloonkeeper is not a business man. Listen to what the Courts say: "The law places barrooms and tippling houses on a footing of *tolerance only*, and an applicant for a license is not to be regarded as a business man proposing to engage in any lawful business."—District Court of Columbia.

RAISIN SANDWICHES.

Rose asks, what will become of the products of the farms that go into the wines and liquors? I answer him that the graperaiser in my state will turn the 22 per cent of sugar in the grape into a food product; to feed the soldiers and laborers. And the school children will eat raisin bread and sandwiches and be healthier and better, just as the English children and the German soldiers are now using sugar, instead of alcoholic liquors.

FUEL VALUE OF RAISINS.

"A comparison of the fuel value of raisins with that of other fruits is surprising to most people. The fuel value, per pound, in calories of raisins is 1200, of bananas 380, of grapes 360, of oranges 225, of apples 230, of strawberries 180 and of watermelons 135. And in fuel value beefsteak is only 975 as compared with 1200 for raisins. Raisins will keep you warm on the coldest day." *While Whisky will make you cold.*

HEALTHFUL FOOD FOR CHILDREN.

"For children, raisins mark the dividing line between bread and cake. A handful of raisins will transform porridge into dessert and make delicious bread pudding out of stale scraps of bread. Plum buns—that cherished dainty of childhood—are plain bread with a little of butter—and plenty of raisins. In every well-to-do English household raisin or currant loaf is an important part of the children's luncheon or tea, and to the free use of it is ascribed much of the vigorous health for which British youth are noted. Raisins are loved by all children for the grape sugar contained in them—and there is nothing better for them."

The English people use more than ten times per

capita, in dried fruits than do the people of America. I say, that if we feed our soldiers, young men and boys and girls more fruit and vegetable sugar, and less whisky, we will have better men and women and higher citizenship.

The grain and farm products that now go into alcohol will be turned into bread and johnny-cake and food for the millions of children now starving and hungry and ragged, unclothed, unkempt and unclean, because of the accursed liquor traffic and the saloons.

The brewers and distillers will turn their "*morgues*" into industrial factories, making more furniture and stoves and clothes and carpets and denatured alcohol for power to run power drills in the mines and sawmills in the woods; for the bartenders and laborers that Rose says will be thrown out of employment, to operate and run the engines; to plow the land and harvest the crops of trees and grains and fruits and vegetables and cotton and wool and hides that the saloonkeeper will be raising, instead of raising crops of thieves and burglars and drunkards,—and "raising hell." And as Lincoln said, "Will have glided into other occupations so gradually as to never have felt the change and will stand ready to join all others in the universal song of gladness."

HAPPY CHILDREN.

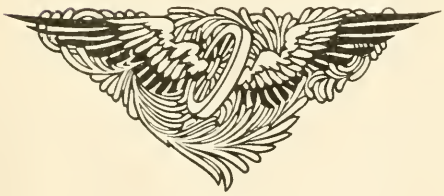
He asks what will become of the hundred and nine million that was paid to the farmers? I answer, it will go into bread to feed the children that were formerly playing in the alleys and eating the refuse of our cities, dirty and hungry; and are now eating three meals a day, well-dressed, well-shod and attending school along with your children and with my children.

Mr. Rose asks what will take the place of the fifty-six million paid in labor last year? I answer it will go to the saloonkeeper, now turned into an honest farmer, or miner, or apple or vegetable raiser; or wheat, or sheepraiser, doing good instead of working evil to the nation, to the state and to the city, and to his family and himself.

It will go to the bartender as an honest carpenter, stonecutter, mason, or plasterer in building homes for the same fellow who was a fool last year burning up money for whisky—money that belonged to his wife and children for bread,—that made him an idler and a loafer and forced them all to want.

Some of it will go to dress and educate the little children who were formerly in ignorance and rags, now

become bright and happy, to become Lincolns and Jeffersons and Washingtons and Bryans and Roosevelts and La Follettes and Julia Ward Howes and Susan B. Anthonys and Frances Willards and Phoebe A. Hearsts and Mrs. Stanfords and Mrs. Ballington Booths and Helen Goulds, and redeem this nation from a prospective and inevitable destruction, to a loftier higher civilization that shall guide and illumine the pathway of all the peoples of the earth, to that end for which our fathers fought and bled and died and the lowly Nazarene came to earth to consummate.



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